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Continuing The Historical Outlook

May, 1937

ARTHUR C. BINING, Editor

A. E. McKinley, Jr., Managing Editor

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MAY, 1937

Science, Invention and Society

WALDEMAR KAEMPFFERT

Science Editor, "New York Times"

It is no accident that we dance fox trots instead of minuets, for the dance is part of our culture. It is no accident that we ride in automobiles, listen to music broadcast half around the world, have our offices in fifty-story skyscrapers and turn our wheels by electric energy. These, too, are manifestations of our culture.

When we speak of a culture we conjure up a picture of group behavior—of a community or a race influenced by common instincts, passions, motives and interests. A social tension is evident—a tension that compels men to act, dress and think more or less alike. In the Middle Ages social tension expressed itself so strongly in religion that there were more than a hundred religious holidays in the year, a new architecture evolved, and the whole of Europe arose to the spiritual need of wresting Jerusalem from what was regarded as infidel control. If, today, we rush in airplanes through the atmosphere at two hundred miles an hour, talk to one another across the Atlantic Ocean, read two-cent newspapers and determine the chemical and physical constitution of a star by light that left it when dinosaurs shook the ground, it is not because the human mind is intrinsically any better than it was 10,000 years ago, but because it has acquired different interests under social tension. Any kind of tension seeks relief. To a socially tense people relief comes through art, philosophy and science, depending on the crucial need of the epoch.

Anthropologists and social scientists as a class, no longer believe in the "great man" theory of culture—a theory expounded by Carlyle in his *Heroes and Hero Worship*. Great men do not of themselves pro-

duce cultures, nor do cultures necessarily produce great men. In every race there are leaders—strong, gifted personalities that respond more sensitively to social tension. Hence Dante, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Bach, Newton, Watt, Morse, Bell, Edison, Marconi and Einstein must be regarded as fuses that blow out and that enable society to short-circuit itself by following the lines of least resistance. Generally, neither society nor its leaders are aware of the process.

When we say that "the time is ripe" for the appearance of a work of art, a scientific discovery, or any invention, we merely mean that social tension at last seeks relief. There was no technical reason why an ancient Greek should not have invented the hot-air balloon. All that he needed was a fairly dense fabric, a basket and a fire. The materials were available 10,000 years ago. A Greek simply did not think in this fashion, because "the time was not ripe"—the social circumstances were not of the kind that stimulate technical thinking. Experimenting and inventing held little interest for him. On the other hand our instruments for measuring the velocity of light could not have been devised by an ancient Greek. He did not think of light as we do. In fact he did not know that it had a velocity.

A change came over our group aspirations about the middle of the eighteenth century. That is, we became aware of a new impetus. What we call the objective, scientific point of view began to be taken toward the universe, which means that we had succeeded in partially divorcing our feelings and traditions from our perceptions, and we proceeded to

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interpret sticks and stones and stars dispassionately. Professor Whitehead calls this mode of approach "the most intimate change in outlook that the human race has yet encountered." "Began" is perhaps the wrong word. Lewis Mumford has shown in his admirable and scholarly Technics and Civilization (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), that contrary to general teaching, there never was a time in the period covered by recorded human history when men did not seek to explain the cosmos scientifically and when they did not invent machines. But "science" and "the machine" are modern conceptions. If economists have spoken of the Industrial Revolution and dated it roughly from the introduction of factories, machines, and patent systems, that followed the development of textile inventions and the steam engine, they have misled us. What seemed like a rapid flowering of science and invention in the late eighteenth century was merely the evidence of an accelerated adoption of a viewpoint. The yeast that had been fermenting ever since there were wondering and thinking men at last leavened the whole mass of western society.

The wave of scientific investigation and mechanical invention that sets our time apart was confined to no one country. It swept over western Europe. Since the New World was settled by western Europeans, it necessarily included the United States. We must deal with it, not nationally, but socially. There is something childish about Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans and Americans, who claim for one of their countrymen the honor of having invented the "first" electric lamp or the "first" dynamo or the "first" telegraph. There are very few "first" inventions, and among these are the wheel, the bow and arrow, the bow-drill, and fire-kindling instruments -all of which must be credited to unknown, prehistoric, savage Edisons. Every invention is rooted in old principles, and every inventor has a technical heritage without which he could not progress. Edison certainly could not have invented the carbon incandescent lamp had he been a Cro-Magnon man in southern France 50,000 years ago. Without Galvani, Volta, Faraday and Henry, the telegraph of Morse would never have been conceived.

That social tension and technical heritage are indeed the well-springs of science and engineering has been clearly demonstrated by Professor William F. Ogburn. With Dr. Dorothy Thomas he compiled a list of one hundred and forty-five major inventions and scientific discoveries all of which were made by different men independently and simultaneously. Thus Newton and Leibniz independently devised differential and integral calculus; Wallace and Darwin simultaneously hit upon natural selection and the survival of the fittest to explain the origin of spe-

cies; Gray and Bell filed patent applications for the telephone within an hour of each other, and both were quite ignorant of the efforts that Reis, a German, was planning to talk over a wire. Professor Ogburn confined himself to one hundred and forty-five major innovations. Had he also gone to the needless trouble of examining thousands of lesser technical advances he would have written a book of a thousand pages. Every patent lawyer knows that the applications which he files on behalf of his inventive clients must invariably be amended to meet the references of the Patent Office to similar disclosures in technical literature.

At times it seems as though the character of scientific research and invention has something national about it. Thus Germans have made a brilliant record in chemistry and Americans in mechanical invention, But this is exactly what may be expected when we consider the social and economic environment. Germany is rather poor in natural resources. She must make the most of materials. Hence the exploitation of coal tar, and the rise of chemistry. We, on the other hand, were long deficient in labor, but rich in natural resources. Hence we have been the great inventors of labor-saving devices. As our population grew, the old differences disappeared. Now our achievements in chemistry equal those of the Germans. In other words, the kind of economic and social community in which we live determines the kind of scientific research and the kind of invention on which we embark. By this I do not mean to perpetuate the old myth that necessity is the mother of invention. It isn't. An inventor in the right environment can no more help inventing than an artist can help painting pictures. What is invented has its roots quite as much in what may be called the soul of the environment as in its material opportunities.

In the old days the inventor worked alone in a garret. Sometimes he was aided financially by some capitalist who believed in him. Usually he lived precariously on his own resources. Compelled to compete with organized research as it is conducted in the industrial laboratory, the outside "heroic" inventor who works picturesquely in solitude is disappearing. Edison may prove to have been the last and greatest of the type. If the heroic inventor survives at all he is almost certain to be a trained physicist or engineer rather than an empiricist, who, like Goodyear, patiently and inspirationally performs ten thousand experiments before at last he achieved the vulcanization of rubber.

Until the coming of the steam engine it mattered little industrially whether a country possessed coal deposits. After James Watt, coal was potential energy that could be released to produce goods. Nations were willing to fight for it. The regions where coal

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was abundant became the seats of industry. Those that had no coal sought salvation in water power both before and after the electric generator was developed. At first the steam engine could be utilized only near the mine or near a navigable stream on which coal could be transported in bulk. Later the railroad made it possible to establish industries based on steam farther from the mine. But not too far.

The distance to which power can be transmitted by a steam engine directly is limited to a few feet by a belt or a rope. As a result the engine had to be used individualistically. That is, every factory generated and distributed its own energy. By 1930 some 270,000 individualistically operated steam engines were running in the United States. To these must be added 53,000 individualistically operated steam locomotives which haul more coal by weight than they do wheat, corn, oats, hay, lumber, steel and iron combined—haul energy in the form of solid, black lumps, largely for their own consumption.

When Edison built the first central station in 1881 this picture was destined to change. Energy in the form of electricity became free. It can now be flashed hither and thither for about 250 miles. Not only this, but central stations can be interconnected so that a few of colossal size can take the place of many. Thus regional power pools can be created which can be tapped wherever land is cheap, railways and waterways are at hand and labor is reasonably abundant. After James Watt, workers flocked to the steam engine; after interconnection, electricity could be flashed to the workers wherever they might be.

What we have, then, is a definite trend to the collectivistic use of energy generated in a few centers. There is nothing accidental about this. The engineers of the great utility companies have for years kept this goal in view. So has every important government.

If the introduction of the steam engine is one of the factors that brought about the Industrial Revolution, then the advent of electric energy marks a second revolution destined to have far-reaching consequences. I do not mean merely electrified farms and households, with Muscle Shoals and Niagara Falls milking the cows and sucking out dirt from the carpet by way of a vacuum cleaner, but a profounder change which may affect the very nature of government and society, as we shall see. Electric energy has become like water or gas—something that steam energy could never become.

The introduction of the steam engine gave an enormous impetus to invention. Before Watt's day engines were used only to pump water out of mines. Watt made an engine of the old pump. After that any machine could be driven by steam. The opportunity was seized quickly enough. Machines were

invented to build other machines, and thus a process of reproduction was inaugurated that seems appalling to some sociologists and romantically captivating to others. The countless machines that do the work of hauling, lifting, pressing, punching, boring, folding, twisting, cutting and bending are all highly specialized, artificial organisms. Industrial processes are carried out, for the most part, by tireless automata which are nothing but extensions of human muscles and human senses controlled by the human brain. What we have here is something much more important than the subdivision of labor. Skill and intelligence have, in part, been transferred to the machine.

Mass production means standardization. It means that we must dress more or less alike, ride in automobiles that are more or less alike, see at night by lamps that are alike, live in houses that resemble one another in their comforts and mechanical conveniences, eat canned and packaged foods that are distributed to millions with like tastes. There is hardly a human activity that is not influenced in some way by the machine—by mass production. The farmer who cultivates a few hundred acres is a mass producer, thanks to his tractor, his mechanical planters, reapers, and harvesters. Even our emotional cravings are satisfied by motion pictures, which are intended for the masses.

Mass production on this scale implies control—organization. The need of organization was recognized from the first. A man like Arkwright, inventor of important spinning machinery, organized his mills after a fashion that commands admiration even at this late day. But let me emphasize the need of the expert who plans the organization and controls it. Without him there is only chaos.

When mass production finally reaches a point where molten pig iron is poured at the rate of thousands of tons a day and automobiles are produced by the million every year, the need for more organization—more control—arises. Out of this need came what is known as Taylorism in Europe and scientific management in America.

Machines have always been arranged with an eye to their general relations to one another. But before Taylor there was no scientific coördination of machines and their tenders. He converted the factory itself into a colossal machine. Taylor and his followers integrated machines and men and transformed the living muscles and the steel wheels of a factory into one huge mechanism that could be managed by a superexpert—the president of a corporation.

Note in all this the increasing organization of industry as it becomes more highly mechanized and the need of directing experts. The worker knows only the name of the part he places in a machine. He is simply operator number twenty-five, and his job is to

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turn out daily two or three thousand bolts numbered two hundred and thirty-one in a contrivance that becomes an automobile or a locomotive. A few engineers, the experts at the top, alone see the mill and its product as a whole. Without them despite the tremendous problem which they face today of winning the confidence and coöperation of the workers, labor would be helpless. The point is of some importance in considering the trend in government, as we shall see.

I do not know how many experts actually control our processes of production and our banks and other financial institutions. Probably their number is not more than a million in the whole world—less than one per cent of the civilized population. From them come the new inventions and the new methods of financing industrial enterprises. It is they who run the world. If some deadly disease were to afflict them simultaneously, we would die of starvation and thirst or some pestilence. It is probable that science and engineering are now creating a new social class more important than any other—the men who understand energy and its application. Once upon a time it was thought that only the military nobles and later that only the moneyed class were fit to rule. Now it seems as if only the scientific expert is fit to rule.

Thus far I have dwelt only on the technical aspects of society. But the rise of the machine and of mass production also has its economic consequences. The modern corporation appears. So does the combination of corporations—the trust. Out of the machine comes the trust. There was no sense in combining factories of handworkers. Production costs could hardly be lowered. But there was much sense in massing machines for producing identical pigs of iron, or identical cans of tomatoes, or identical shoes. Thereafter single machines could be made to do the work of a dozen. In a General Motors factory you may see a hydraulic press stamping out fenders for automobiles. It costs at least \$150,000. It does the work of perhaps six smaller presses. It would stand idle half the time unless the output were large enough. With a sufficiently large output it dispenses, not only with six smaller machines, but with five crews. Six small automobile factories would have to combine to make the most of that \$150,000 hydraulic press and produce fenders at the lowest possible cost.

With mass production and massed factories or trusts we have entirely new financial and economic problems. Banking has had to adapt itself to the machine. So has economic theory. And again we behold the expert in control, the expert in economics, although he is by no means as sure of his methods and by no means as able to predict results as the expert in charge of production.

The whole trend of society for about one hundred and fifty years is now clear. We see energy supplant-

ing muscle in manufacturing; machine after machine appearing; mass production standardizing life; ships and railroads becoming mass carriers; the machine so far dominating industry that invention becomes a recognized profession, with group invention taking the place of inspirational, individual, "heroic" inventors; the standardization of goods as a result of mass production; the gradual abandonment of thousands of individualistically operated steam engines for a few central stations that transmit electric energy over vast regions; electrical communication, designed from the outset for mass utilization; mass production, for whatever purpose, demanding and receiving more and more organization; and a handful of experts controlling the machinery of modern civilization.

When we behold industries thus expanding until they enmesh, not only a whole country, but the world, and also when we behold oil, coal, the production of necessities in the hands of a few financiers and technical experts, the need of government control to prevent exploitation merely for the sake of profits is evident. Almost from the first, national or local governments have realized the necessity of either owning or controlling such activities as the carrying of mail. the supplying of communities with water, gas and electricity, and the means of telegraphing and telephoning. Now there are signs that the production and distribution of goods must be similarly supervised and regulated. Either the expertly managed industries must run the government, or the government the industries. In a word the mechanism of mass production so vitally affects the masses that they are possessed by a vague fear of slipping back into something worse than serfdom. They sense the need of a change in government.

Science, invention, mechanized industries mean technical competence. But we do not know what competence in government means because we do not agree on forms of government. We do agree on competence, and competence is impossible without experts.

If the government must intervene, which seems inevitable, it is clear that it must adapt itself to the exigencies of managing mass producers, mass carriers, mass conveyors of intelligence by telephone, telegraphs and radio, mass trade, mass credit and mass banking. It must have a different organization. It must rely, not on politicians, but on experts. To order industrial and financial experts what they should do, requires the knowledge of experts. Politics must consider technics rather than emotions.

This clearly means more organization than we have now. It means more control and not less. It means planning, not to meet the exigencies of a depression, but planning for the future. Unless there is planning there is no opportunity for social invention. Social invention must become as systematic and as well or

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ganized as mechanical invention and scientific discovery if it is to keep pace with the laboratory. The point has been reached when we can no longer make the utmost use of scientific and mechanical innovations without social adjustments and social invention. The alternative is a slowing down of mechanical invention, something recognized in the often expressed proposal that there shall be a temporary halt of scientific and industrial research. No engineer, no statesman has yet seriously considered such a recession. Professor Dewey puts it well when he says:

The depression is a small price to pay if it induces men to think about the cause of the disorder and the confusion and insecurity of our time. It seems incredible that men who have brought the technique of applied physical discovery, invention and use to such a pitch of perfection will abdicate in face of the infinitely more important human problem.

Perhaps this restlessness, this sense of insecurity, is a favorable omen. Whitehead maintains that the great ages of the past have always been unstable ages, although instability may threaten civilization. To him, it is the business of the future to be dangerous. Progress always involves adventure. It is the merit of science that it equips the future for the task of being adventurous.

No one knows what form of government will evolve out of the social needs that have come with science and the machine. It will certainly be some form of collectivism in which private profit will be either severly limited or abolished entirely. Collectivism may take any one of several different forms. It may be a democracy modified to suit a mechanized society, a democracy which will elect to office physicists,

chemists, engineers, economists, physiologists, experts familiar with the design and operation of machines, production and consumption, credits, money, human appetites and needs; it may be communism or socialism or fascism. Whatever it may be, that government must of necessity be a government by technicians, by experts.

With a world that is becoming more and more collectivistic, that demands more and more organization and more and more expert control, it is clear that democracy must change its character if it is to survive at all. It is a purely political conception that had its birth in eighteenth century ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. A mechanized society, dependent on creative physicists and engineers, on organizers, on experts in technics as well as finance must adapt itself to less individual liberty in order to preserve fraternity and equality of opportunity. Democracy wears periwigs and knee-breeches, writes with quill pens, and thinks of political parties and political control. A mechanized society wears standardized, machine-made clothes, writes on typewriters, and should be ruled more by industrial and economic organizations than by political parties.

Whether democracy can survive the increasing strain to which it is being subjected by machine methods and scientific progress no one knows. If it does, it will be vastly different from eighteenth century egalitarianism. We have but to cast our eyes backward to note the trend. There is less personal liberty today than there was a generation ago; there will be still less a generation hence. There will be more and more need of organization, more and more need of integration of workers and machines, more and more need of experts. Fraternity may remain, but conceptions of liberty and equality must change.

Of Ships and Seals and Postage Stamps

HENRY REIFF

St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York

Ship's timbers splintering on the rocks! Men suffocating in the surf! Death in the night on the lonely Moroccan coast! Another vessel lost! This time, the American bark Jehu, caught in the swift current of the Straits of Gibraltar, near Cape Spartel, November 27, 1858. Could nothing be done to stop this senseless waste of life and property?

Nine years earlier, the American consul at Tangier had recommended that his government assign a warvessel to patrol the African coast in the vicinity of the Straits and to aid the shipwrecked. Nothing was done. In 1852, he communicated the recommenda-

tion of the diplomatic and consular corps at Tangier that the several maritime nations establish a lighthouse on Cape Spartel. More delay; more wrecks! Finally, the Sultan of Morocco himself built a lighthouse. Ten governments, including the United States, agreed by a treaty, signed May 31, 1865, to neutralize and maintain it. Since then, the candlepower of the light has been increased from 6,000 to 320,000 and the annual dues per subscribing nation has risen from \$285 to \$825. Every night for seventy years the light has guided mariners, through calm and storm, in peace and war.

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Thus the United States acquired its first membership in an international administrative union. Since 1865, it has joined forty other such unions and ratified over eighty multilateral treaties in connection therewith. At present it is considering the advisability of joining several more, the most important being the Universal Copyright Union.

Each union serves a distinct economic, humanitarian, cultural, or other non-political need. The subject matters range from the regulation of aerial navigation to the repression of white slavery. They include agriculture, copyrights (Pan-American), fire-arms, fur seals, labor, load lines, merchandise nomenclature, mortality and morbidity statistics, narcotics, obscene publications, patents, pharmacopoeial formulas, postal matters, radio, safety at sea, sanitation, submarine cables, tariff laws and regulations, weights and measures, and whales. They are as various as human needs, and each has its international significance.

The international significance of radio and foreign mails is apparent; that of other subject matters less so. Take the case of epidemics, say bubonic plague. The happiness of a denizen of Chicago may very well be affected by a flea peacefully regurgitating on the back of a rat in Hu-nan Province, Central China. The demonstration is simple: this is the germ in far Hu-nan that lives in a flea that feeds on a rat that infects other rats that infest a ship which takes them to America where they infect more rats that travel in freight cars and are hosts to fleas that bear the germs which finally slay the gentleman from Chicago. Rats don't care a snap for national boundaries. Neither do typhus lice, nor yellow fever mosquitoes. Imported old rags may contain smallpox germs; water-ballast discharged by vessels in a harbor, cholera germs. Epidemic disease can be combated effectively only by international cooperation. The Universal and the Pan-American Sanitary Unions make that possible. The member governments are obligated to apply prescribed measures against plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus, small-pox, typhoid, influenza, and other diseases. The frontiers of American health lie indeed in the river valleys of China, the swamps of the Caribbean countries, and the slums of the Near East.

The average American probably does not realize how subtly some of these unions affect his daily activities. For example, without standardized accuracy, our mechanized civilization would probably soon crash about our ears. American industry and science owe much to the national Bureau of Standards for the accuracy of their instruments of measurement. It in turn depends heavily upon the International Bureau of Weights and Measures in Paris. Since 1875, officially accredited technicians from all over the world have collaborated at the Paris bureau in devising and adopting universal units of measurement,

dealing with space, weight, temperature, light, electricity and other fundamental phenomena. Human ingenuity constantly creates a demand for new units. Moreover, old units frequently must be restated more conveniently in new terms. Take the case of the meter. A platinum-iridium international prototype, authorized in 1875, has been kept in a vault at the bureau. access to which exists only by means of three keys. used simultaneously, each in the possession of a different official. Copies of the prototype, also made of platinum-iridium, serve as national standards to which are related the domestic units, whatever they may be. Occasionally these copies must be sent back for comparison to check for shrinking and stretching. The American copy took such a trip in 1904. Recently, however, the union adopted as the equivalent of a meter, 1,553,164.13 wave lengths of the strong red light from a cadmium lamp. This equivalent eliminates reliance upon possibly defective copies of the national prototype and enhances precision measurement generally. Engineers and scientists appreciate the work of this union. The rest of us benefit through them.

Similarly, we benefit because American patents, designs, trade-names, and trade-marks are protected under the Industrial Property Union abroad. Unless the taking of fur seals and whales were regulated by treaty, presently there might be no more sealskin coats or whale-oil products. Without the help of other governments, the United States might not be able to stem the influx of prostitutes, obscene publications, and narcotics, and America might be a less pleasant abode for children and parents alike.

Another example. How may the 1930 Load Line Treaty affect John Citizen's pocket-book or peace of mind? It happens that some shipowners have a conscience and others do not. Some will allow a margin of safety in loading so that the vessel may ride out storms nicely. Others will decrease the margin of safety to increase their margin of profit. The lives of passengers and crew are thus jeopardized in unfair competition. Experience has shown that no one government can successfully act alone in this matter. If it compels safe load-lines for its own mercantile fleet, it abandons extra profits to its "chiseling" rivals. If it tries to force foreign vessels that use its ports to load safely, it invites protest and retaliation. Common sense would indicate that all maritime powers agree on regulations providing for officially determined load-lines. The 1930 treaty does that. Hence friend John, if he is in the shipping business, starts from scratch with all his rivals in the race for profits. If he is a passenger or a member of a crew, he has reasonable assurance that the vessel will not wallow in a storm and founder.

Why multiply illustrations? Suffice it, we live not to ourselves alone. The United States, therefore, is a

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veteran joiner of these unions, but not an indiscriminate one. In each case it has a real interest or need to serve. In no case does it give or get anything for nothing. Coöperation under such treaties, however, yields each participating country extra dividends in service and protection, not to mention the moral satisfaction of having helped to advance international decency.

The United States is a charter member of most of these organizations. In fact, it proposed the formation of several itself, notably the Universal Postal Union, established in 1874. It has entered others after various periods of delay, for example, the Industrial Property Union, created in 1883, joined in 1887; the first Radio Convention, signed 1906, ratified 1912.

In a few instances, the United States has delayed excessively, to the detriment of its own permanent interests. Take the failure thus far to enter the Universal (or Berne) Copyright Union, founded in 1886, and the delay in ratifying the 1929 revised treaty on Safety of Life at Sea. In regard to the former, after a century (1790-1891) of Congressional encouragement of literary piracy—in plain English, stealing—of foreign works, chiefly English, and another half century of compulsory special American editions for English works to avoid piracy, powerful organized groups still bar entrance to the Berne Union. The record certainly reveals both stupidity and cupidity. Similarly, a well-organized minority—the International Seamen's Union—impeded, until 1936, ratification of the Safety-at-Sea pact, a conspicuous instance of a myopic view of selfinterest.

Although in a sense these administrative regimes constitute a natural response to human wants, it must not be imagined that they, like Topsy, "jes' growed." Of course, governments officially are responsible for their creation, but somebody, somewhere, had to conceive the idea behind each. It may have been a government clerk, obscure in dusty duty, perhaps now unknown and unsung. It may have been a minister of state, like Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, who in 1862, despite the distractions of the Civil War, invited the nations of the world to cease their obstructive postal practices and cooperate for the benefit of all. Thus he directed the minds of officials to the formation of a Universal Postal Union. Or it may, perhaps, have been some man or woman in private life possessed of an ideal and the courage to

Such a man was Charles H. Brent, Episcopal bishop to the Philippines after the war with Spain. He saw clearly that to the imperial flag of the United States had been added an evil star of the first magnitude—the opium problem. He saw its international ramifications, and besought President Theodore Roosevelt to enlist the efforts of other nations in suppressing the

evil. The 1912 Hague Opium Treaty resulted. Other and better agreements have followed, extending regulation to a variety of habit-forming drugs. The dauntless bishop spent his whole life "fighting the good fight." It is not won yet.

To David Lubin, adopted son of America, the world owes the International Institute of Agriculture established in 1905 at Rome. His story has the glamour of a fairy tale-born in a ghetto in Poland; survivor of a pogrom; brought as a child to "the lower east side" of New York; youthful hardships; wanderings; finally, success as a merchant in California. Lubin, prosperous, ventured in agriculture, his hobby. There he failed, several times. He probed deep into its economics, and saw the utility of an international clearing-house for agricultural information. At middle age, he started to peddle his idea. His own government would have none of it. He went to Europe, from capital to capital, but none had vision to take it. He pressed the king of Italy with the persistence of a book agent. Even kings yield. The Italian government called a conference. Lubin's idea was made manifest. The United States honored him with appointment as its first delegate to the Institute.

Sometimes a nation suffers because it is a people without vision. At any rate, sometimes people suffer because their government is without vision. We might consider the parable of the *Titanic*. On Sunday night, April 14, 1912, then the largest ship in the world, on its joyous maiden voyage to America, struck an iceberg in the North Atlantic, and carried with it to destruction 832 passengers and 685 members of the crew. After the first numbing effects of the tragedy, millions of British and American hearts filled with resentment that somewhere in the ordering of human affairs, human beings should have failed to envisage

the vagaries of icebergs.

Few knew that at the Washington Maritime Conference of 1889, the United States had proposed regulations making it the duty of every master of a vessel to report the presence of floating ice so that other vessels might be warned. The British government rejected this proposal, and revealed its attitude in its response to our government's further suggestion of coöperative destruction of derelicts: "The number of casualties from collisions with derelicts is very small in so large an area of the sea." Few, indeed, knew how the government of the United States tried again and again to secure the necessary coöperation.

Fate spared one soul, in April 1912, to whom may be traced the origin of the existing North Atlantic Ice Patrol. Doctor Sam Eyde, enterprising Norwegian industrialist, had engaged passage on the *Titanic*. A last minute delay in Paris forced him to change to the *Mauretania*, sailing a couple of days later. At sea he learned of the disaster he had escaped. Then and there he drew up a plan for systematic

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patrolling of the ice-area by special government ships. He discussed the plan with the captain of the Mauretania, and presented it immediately on landing to a Congressional investigating committee. Promptly, the United States dispatched two scout cruisers to the area. The Coast Guard has maintained the patrol since. The 1914 and 1929 Conferences on Safety of Life at Sea provided for a pro rata sharing of the expense by the other maritime powers and authorized the patrol to perform additional services for navigation. Verily, at times, it seems that only chastisement by the hand of death will rouse the international community from its sloth.

Long is the roster of those who, without fanfare or citation, have ministered well to the daily needs of the international community. Writ large are the names of our fellow-countrymen. To those already mentioned should be added: Joseph Henry, first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, originator of a system of international exchange of scientific works; John A. Kasson, assistant postmaster-general, congressman, diplomat, promoter of the Postal and Metric Unions; Thorvald Solberg, for thirty-three years register of copyrights, champion of the Berne Union; Eugene Tyler Chamberlain, for decades commissioner of navigation, protagonist of safety at sea; Surgeon-General Hugh S. Cumming, for many years guardian of our national health; Leo S. Rowe, long time director-general of the Pan-American Union; and many others. The history of these unions contains such stuff as drama and romance are made of.

Other features of these organizations, such as their membership, structure, and functions, are not less fascinating than their origins. The number of members, of course, varies from union to union, depending on how many countries feel they have an interest in the subject matter. Thus, only the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and Russia entered into the 1911 treaty regulating pelagic sealing in the North Pacific. But practically all the countries of the world are members of both the Postal and the Radiotelegraph Unions—over seventy in each case. Membership can usually be had for the asking, and can be terminated simply upon giving due notice. Mutual profit is the tie that binds; few members ever quit; the United States never has yet.

Many of the unions are simplicity itself, the members merely agreeing to bring their laws into conformity with some accepted standard on the designated subject. One of the governments acts as recording secretary. Such is the case under the 1906 Brussels Agreement on the Unification of Pharmacopoeial Formulas for Potent Drugs, the Belgian government keeping the records.

The internal structure and workings of other unions, however, are exceedingly complex. Take the Universal Postal organization. It is the very model of an international union. Year in and year out,

quietly and efficiently, it performs its appointed tasks. Under a constitution and set of regulations, revised periodically, at about five year intervals—the last revision being at Cairo in 1934—the union utilizes a central bureau at Berne, compulsory arbitration, research committees, and a scheme for apportioning the annual expenses of the bureau in accordance with the size of the member countries.

The Telecommunications Union, also, is skillfully and wonderfully made. In fact, it is administrative Siamese twins, one section dealing with telegraph and telephone systems, chiefly of European concern, and the other with all forms of radio, usually of universal concern. The two sections are organically connected. The United States participates only in the radio regime. Some phases of practically every existing use of radio—correspondence, broadcasting, radiobeacons, radiotelephony, television—whether by means of land, sea, or air stations, have been subjected to

regulation under this regime.

All this sounds very complicated, and in fact it is, as complicated as the inside of a molecule of tetramethylmethane. Complexity, however, does not mean disorder. The administrative relations of the United States with other countries, unlike some of its political relations, are on the whole neatly in order. Thus, it holds membership in these two-score unions existing under separate treaties. One of them, the International Labor Organization, arranges a variety of agreements which the members may ratify or not, as they choose, all dealing with the same subject matter, the welfare of labor the world over. Another, the Pan-American Union, like the League of Nations, performs two sets of functions, political and administrative. It sponsors a variety of subordinate administrative unions, membership in most of them being confined to the twenty-one republics of the New World. Since 1920, the United States has increasingly participated in the administrative work of the League of Nations. Some of the forty-odd unions, such as those on health, narcotics, and traffic in women and children, are linked in coöperation with League agencies. Though expenses might be cut down and efficiency increased by gathering all the separate unions under the League of Nations, the League declines the honor. In 1929, the Council voted against making the League a "secretarial encyclopedia" or a "vast bureaucracy." And so the atomic arrangement remains, the treaties between the several governments constituting most of the links within the molecule.

The annual cost of maintaining these administrative relationships for the United States amounts to a picayune, budgetarily speaking. In 1865 our annual dues and contributions totaled \$285; in 1935, \$556,470, or 1/7188th part of the national (ordinary) budget of four billion. Representation expenses should be added; they vary from a few thousand to several tens of thousands per year, depending on the

number of meetings and conferences held. Whatever the cost, our government for seventy years has believed it gets "consumer's surplus."

If these administrative regimes are such a great boon, why can't they be used to stop war? The answer is not simple. Certainly, they survive war, even world wars, probably because they have been freely entered into, have high utilitarian value, and are essentially reasonable. And they do reduce friction which otherwise, if accumulated, might result in hostilities. The solution of the Fur-Seal Controversy is directly in

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In 1867, when the United States acquired Alaska from Russia, about 4,700,000 seals frequented the rookeries on the Pribilof Islands in Bering Sea. By 1911 the herd had been reduced to 125,000. Tense and irritating relations between the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan developed out of American fumbling with protective measures. Unlawful seizures of Canadian sealing-vessels on the high seas cost the United States a cool half-million dollars in damages. Nine separate investigations from 1872 to 1911 finally yielded a solution based upon the biological habits of the seals themselves. It happens that the period of gestation of a seal is about 360-365 days, and all females over a year old are pregnant annually. Killing one such female during the mating season—the summer—therefore almost invariably removes three seals from the herd, the adult, the potential one within, and the new-born pup on shore, dependent for its food on its mother. Pelagic (high-sea) sealing is regularly conducted during the summer and is usually indiscriminate. Obviously the solution lay in prohibiting pelagic sealing altogether and letting the United States government

take the skins on dry land, discriminately and chiefly from "bachelor" seals. The other governments could then share, pro rata, in the profits, by way of compensation for giving up their sea rights. The 1911 treaty provided exactly for this. Thus was ended both a "tragedy of waste" and a situation fraught with bitterness. And incidentally, since 1911 the herd has grown enormously, which seems to please everybody.

But the most serious of the problems which vex the peace of nations are political, not administrative, in character. They involve questions of national security, military and economic; national expansion; national ambition; historic rights and wrongs; prestige and power. Some of these problems, particularly those concerning raw materials and markets, if viewed dispassionately, could be solved by means of international administrative devices. Others require different techniques including diplomacy; the use of conciliating agencies such as those of the League of Nations and the Pan-American Union; and adjudication by the World Court. Administrative devices could nevertheless be used far more extensively than they are at present.

Unless the United States plans to move off this planet, it will have to resort increasingly to use of both types of techniques. In any event, new problems, susceptible of administrative solution, arise almost as fast as old ones are put under treaty regimes. Modern governments, like Alice and the Red Queen, find themselves racing against fast-changing conditions. And the United States will continue to find itself entering into administrative agreements which treat of many things—of ships and seals and postage

stamps and morphine smuggling rings.

Basic Concepts for Instruction in History

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In this paper there has been no attempt to state a complete philosophy of education, nor even to formulate a complete set of detailed aims and obectives. The object has been rather to work through the confusion of theories, principles, of "do's" and don'ts" presented by educators of varying degrees of liberality, toward a concept that will aid in building a course in American history that will fit in a practical school situation, where the organization is not radical, and will at the same time provide for the newer objectives in general education and in social science instruction.

OPPORTUNITY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

In the great achievements that distinguish modern from primitive times, most progress has been made in the field of science. Science has gone far toward its goal of bringing the physical world under control of man, so that nature may be made to serve ever

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more human needs. Indeed, so much advance has been made that a new problem has arisen, that of bringing technology itself under control.

Social thought, or social science, on the other hand, has lagged far behind scientific thought. It has perhaps been more difficult to realize its immediacy and more difficult to apply it to objective situations. Much theorizing has been done. "Science," before the introduction of the scientific method, was a collection of facts, fancies, and theories. Scientific data and methods of proof help to distinguish these. Certain "laws" are found, based on the sequence of events. Now people are coming to think of social science as necessary and immediate. They are seeing that the present is its great opportunity.

Whether people wish it or not, the world is changing. How shall it change? Shall social science, or chance (that is, pressure groups), or inertia direct developments? Most social changes now come because of other factors than social science instruction. But people are seeking a new leadership and a program that will be consistent with present-day needs and resources. Who is to furnish this leadership and this program? Dewey says: "A society that does not know where it is going or where it wants to go will be reflected in an educational system that is also drifting and uncertain. To a very considerable extent this is what has been happening in the last forty or fifty years."1 National life will be influenced "fundamentally and permanently" by the attitudes cultivated in young people.2 Problems of social life are vast and complex. Are social science teachers to regard these as outside their work? Some would go so far as to call upon the schools to plan and to reorganize society. That puts upon teachers a greater responsibility than they are ready to bear, or probably should bear in a democratic society.

Then what is their responsibility? Industries have been removed from the home and even from the residential community. Education, thus severed from close contact with home and industry, tends to become bookish, unreal, and inapplicable to the very definite uncertainties of daily living.3 School instruction should recognize these problems and build the course around them in such a way that the pupils feel themselves meeting actual problems, and solving and acting on them as far as their degree of maturity will allow. R. O. Hughes, of the Department of Curriculum Study, Pittsburgh, in his presidential address to the Social Studies Convention at Detroit, November 27, 1936, said: "Let us lay before them the best thoughts we can get from the experience of the past. Let us give them opportunities for considering and judging the proposals for building society that may be advanced by any one. Then we can, I think, safely trust the outcome of the day, not so far ahead, when the young people whom we guide and counsel have

to make decisions that will affect the government and life of a nation, and, perhaps, of all mankind."4

KIND OF EDUCATION TO MEET THE PRESENT SITUATION

H. C. Morrison thinks of an educated person as one who knows what to do and is inclined to do it, This calls for a type of education which trains in both problem-solving ability and desirable attitudes. Individuals thus must learn to use recorded knowledge for independent judgments. Inherent in this definition is the importance of the social situation. Individuals do not live to themselves alone, or dissociated from physical surroundings. Therefore, there' is needed a two-way adjustment—of the individual to the environment, and of the environment to the individual. Social education is a way of being, of remaking one's self. But it is also a way of remaking the environment, physical, social, and cultural, toward a greater harmony with the development of the individuals composing that society.

The schools must be adjusted to the society they serve. In the past, education was adjusted to the dominant interests of the ruling classes. In a democracy, education should accordingly serve the interests of the greatest possible number. It happens that the dominating problems today are economic and social. There should be clear understanding of the relations between the various factors in society, and of the principles of social equity. There should also be the power of constructive thinking to provide the much-needed social invention and initiative.⁵

"The celibacy of the medieval learned class has been replaced by a celibacy of the intellect which is divorced from the concrete contemplation of the complete facts." This is an extreme statement, but it illustrates pointedly the need for a greater synthesis between the work of the community and of the schools. Social principles should relate to machinery and technology, and to the new type of life being created by them.

Learning is "an aspect of interaction of organism and environment." The normal individual is effortful and goal-seeking. He must learn to create what he wishes for himself and society. In order that he may create wisely, intelligent social guidance is necessary. This guidance should be two-fold: to train the individual in self-direction and to train him to act upon thought.9

Instruction therefore needs to be functional in order to be useful to the individual in his relations to society. Since the pupil deals with society through his own community, the materials of instruction should be either drawn from or related to community environment as much as possible. Each new situation is a problem to be faced, a challenge, and should be utilized in the problem-solving type of instruction.

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THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The social sciences deal with the manifestations of human life: with physical environment, outward organization, ideas, time extension, and ethical and aesthetic values. How is history to be defined? "History is not a step-sister of social science." It is not subject matter, but a method for all sorts of subject matter. Beard says: "History is thought about the past, checked and controlled to a certain extent by the known facts of the past." It differs from other social sciences in the time depth.

The value of history as a method for all kinds of subject matter is apparent when one asks what would happen if all the past were destroyed? Or, if all we had to know or work from were current events and situations? Every race from the primitive stage onward has contrived to prevent this enormous waste of human intellect and achievement. All normal people are historians, in a sense. They are interested in stories of what has occurred, in the sequence of events, and in the time element. So history is a part of our lives, whether recognized or not.

In the past, several methods of historical study have been developed. Following the great advance in science, came the empirical method. This is of great value, but is not sufficient in itself. It has saved the social sciences from being mere empty theories.18 Much has been done and is being done in the collection of facts, but one cannot employ the experimental method in history very well. There are several obstacles. First, there are too many factors to be controlled. Second, the time element is too great. Third, there is no way of determining fundamental causes in history. For a long time people have believed in the infallibility of physical "laws," but scientists are now questioning even them, regarding them only as the expected sequences of events. Even less can historical "laws" be determined. History is not based on a dogma of necessary progress. Individuals and events change both things and events.14 History should be rid of fatalistic implications. Choices have been made in the past and must be made in the future, some good, some not. People are the carvers of destiny.15 It is the duty of everyone therefore to consider the direction of his efforts. Fourth, there is the human failing that there can be no pure objectivity. There are always some prepossessions brought to the task. One cannot write or study all the facts. One must select, and in doing so an historian will choose those in accordance with a purpose, or a way of thinking, even if he does so unconsciously. Beard says: The social sciences broadly conceived are ethical sciences, not empirical, natural, or neutral sciences."16 Therefore choices are made to fit some frame of reference. The timid may take shelter in objectivity, or avoidance, but even these are in themselves selections and forms of propaganda.17

There are three great lessons that history can give to social science thinking. First, every one is a product of the past. There are relative constants or statics which have in part molded civilization and whose study helps us to understand the present. Second, there are dynamic elements in our society which are producing changes and which need a very clear understanding. Third, the future cannot be predicted in detail, but the historian can detect the conditioning and the trends which may allow certain events to occur. Since it is important to prepare the youth for the present and the future, there must be appreciation of and emphasis upon the trends of civilization.¹⁸

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

Gideonse says that tired moderns seek a frame of reference for the sake of certainty. But in a practical situation a pattern is necessary to avoid conglomeration, since everything cannot be taught. Therefore, there will be a frame of reference. Beard defines this as a "cultural guide to action," and includes in it a picture of the existing situation, current developments, and the inexorable developments or trends. "The point to keep in mind is that the frame of reference is the controlling consideration, and that it, not the records, knowledge, thought, and thought-categories of the respective social sciences, must and will furnish the criteria and guides for using the materials and thought-categories of the subsidiary social sciences in forming and realizing objectives." 20

Here, one must guard against the danger of indoctrination. The Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association took the position that the fundamental purpose of social studies instruction is "the creation of rich, many-sided personalities, equipped with practical knowledge and inspired by ideals so that they can make their way and fulfill their missions in a changing society which is a part of a world complex." Students should be given a wide acquaintance with activities of society and their interrelations; with the relationship of environment to customs and achievements in different ages and countries; with social developments in time, and with the origins and development of culture.

In history we use the material of yesterday and today to educate for tomorrow. Events are important only if they are a part of the great trends of civilization. Thus the objectives and material are to be found in functional knowledge. Material must be challenging and worth while. It should include scientific, intellectual, industrial, and religious, as well as political phases of human life. It should emphasize the social viewpoint of ideals, coöperation, humanitarianism, and aesthetics. Current trends in these phases of life should be a fundamental part of each course.

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STUDENT PARTICIPATION

Learning must be directed toward action and must be made dynamic. "Good intentions, unaccompanied by action in the direction of their fulfillment, become a form of moral dissipation and of political ineptitude." Students should participate as much as possible in worth-while action, in both the community and the classroom. By participation in the community work a constructive rather than a cynical temper will be developed. By such participation students learn first, that action should follow intention; second, that there is need to coöperate; and third, that the city or state is an instrument for achieving desired ends.²²

Wherever this is carried out there will be real correlation between present-day problems and instruction. This will tend to vitalize the instruction and to develop the habit of interpreting current problems from historical experience. However, in order to participate well, one must have knowledge and must have some appreciation of the experiences of the race. History is provincial, piecemeal, and ephemeral if based on current events only. Therefore the past itself must be made intelligible.²⁸ Let the text describe the past event, and the outside reading and the activities relate to the current aspects of the same event,

in part 24

Within the school itself lies the chief opportunity for active participation in social relations. This is taken care of through extra-curricular activities or through various classroom techniques for socialized procedure. However, experience outside may be both instructive to the individual and useful for the community. If the schools are looked upon as research laboratories to create a better state, then pupils and adults have an opportunity in which coöperation is possible and the schools become actually instead of artificially functioning institutions. Destructive criticism in the classroom is insufficient. Youth, if it is ever to be ready to direct public affairs wisely, must know why things happen and must try to plan for a better future. This calls for a very close integration between school and community life. Teachers and pupils would be called upon to live in, as well as be a part of, the community. Miss Clapp, who has carried on an experiment in a Kentucky school, writes: "A socially functioning school has, therefore, not only to claim as its problems the conditions in the community affecting residents and therefore children, not only to participate in these, and itself to supply where lacking healthy social and recreational agencies or to foster and use connections with these, but also to interpret its teaching job as the learning of socially functioning subject matter. This enterprise is as demanding as any civic participation may be."25

Schools should cultivate initiative for social progress by allowing those with socially inventive ability

to pursue research. The line of procedure may be from effect to cause to remedy—or from observation to history to invention.

In community activities there are three kinds of contacts: observational, participating, and contributory. A few illustrations may be suggestive of kinds of participation possible to history students which will not encroach too much on the fields of other social sciences, or run the risk of duplication.

Of the observational type are such examples as surveys for the purpose of getting incentives and materials for school and community work. Such are also tours and trips to art galleries and to museums and industrial plants. This type can often be carried further toward more complete participation in the

next types.

Students may participate by cooperating with the adults in community action. For instance, they might make a survey of existing conditions and of the pertinent history; then petition a city councilman or state senator for desired improvements. Students can secure by united action the showing of motion pictures of educational and historical significance. They can probably, by the same means, influence the choice of books in the local libraries. It would be a social service and a profitable experience for them to provide the opportunity to increase the number and friendliness of contacts between the cultured of different races, and to develop an appreciation of the best culture of each. In a community with many foreign residents, projects leading toward a knowledge and appreciation of the cultural and racial background and heritage of the parents of the students would tend to lessen the gulf between the older and younger generations and should help to stabilize society. Celebrations and campaigns in the community offer a chance for high school pupils to do very effective committee work, and at the same time make the pupils, actively a part of, and responsible for community effort.

The contributing type of community contact furnishes some interesting illustrations. Various kinds of guide books of the community are educational to make and to use. For example, a class might make a survey of the city for things of historical interest, as sites of famous events, monuments, and important buildings, and then make a map and a descriptive booklet with pen and ink sketches. A more ambitious project would be an historical guide book of the state. A variant would be guide books of the community connected with the life of an important historical personage—as of Abraham Lincoln or of Stephen A. Douglas in Illinois. (This is usually easier in an eastern state.) Another would be a guide book for visitors based on a survey of the recreational and cultural resources of the community.

Schools can encourage and organize community

forums for discussion of problems of current interest, but based on historical knowledge. They may also stage or help stage pageants in the school or the community which have either historical method or subject matter. Formal debates may be organized in which competent adults of the community will engage, to the benefit of both students and adults.

The school might foster a young people's theatre in which music, drama, and dances of various periods would be featured, presented as often as practicable by the youth of the community themselves. The adults could be encouraged to attend and to par-

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On higher levels, participation may be in expressing student opinions so as to help form a powerful public opinion. This may be done through charts, maps, graphs, cartoons, and pictures, and through articles and editorials published in the school and even in the local newspapers.

Paul Hanna, in his book Youth Serves the Community, gives the following criteria for such student

activities in the community:

Individual Educational Criteria

1. Youth who participate in a project must sense its social significance.

2. Youth must have a part in planning the

project.

- 3. Youth must have some sporting chance of carrying the project proposed through to more or less successful conclusion.
- 4. Youth must accept the responsibility for success or failure of a project.
- 5. Youth must actually grow in total personality as a result of the work undertaken.

Significant Social Value Criteria

1. Any project must culminate in the actual improvement of living in the community.

2. Projects must clearly be an obligation of

youth as well as adulthood.

3. In so far as possible, projects must get at the basic problems of improving social welfare.26

PRINCIPLES FOR CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

If we learn by doing, and develop habits and attitudes from repeated experience, we should prepare for democracy by experiencing democracy. The classroom should therefore be a democratic society, a real environment in which interdependence and cooperation of young people approximate as nearly as possible the interrelations of adult life. There should be an atmosphere of open-mindedness and tolerance, also, that will aid in overcoming prejudice against persons and opinions.

Social advance has been possible through two fac-

tors, specialization and exchange. Translated into educational terms, this means development of individual interests, abilities, genius on the one hand and socialization of these individual contributions for the benefit of society on the other hand. All persons cannot do all things equally well. It is necessary for progress that there be individualization. Therefore individual differences must be liberally provided for and continually encouraged. But a method based on student interests is apt to be anthropocentric. To counteract this danger, pupils must be trained in social relations. They must learn to lead when capable and to follow leadership of others in those lines in which they do not specialize. In a social situation, young people as well as adults come to recognize leaders and it is well for them to have training in this cooperation of leading and following. Various forms of the socialized recitation and of cooperative projects may be utilized for this purpose.

It is desired that instruction be linked with current problems. Some would go further, that current problems should determine the topics of instruction. But there is inherent the danger of lack of balance and of no rational development of a topic. Various plans have been suggested for these difficulties, some conservative and some radical. A midway suggestion seems practicable. Let the teacher have prepared a tentative list of units for a course. These may be taken up in the order of current happenings which are of interest to the students. The students may choose their individual and cooperative projects under each unit, thus ensuring that every field would be worked upon by each pupil, but each one would not need to be doing just what the others in the class do. Those interested in the scientific, artistic, literary, political or economic aspects of a problem may pursue their own line of interest, thereby increasing their knowledge in the field of their own specialization and at the same time becoming acquainted with some of the problems and part of the material content of the units.27

Planning from the present backward is like drawing an architect's plans so he can work back to foundations and know how to build them.28 The students choose the unit of more immediate interest, then suggest the current aspects of the question. From this, the next step is the planning of the unit or developing it and should take place in the class, allowing opportunity for the participation of the students in planning their own work.

Six principles in the selection of material and activities should receive careful consideration: (1) Orientation to the factual situation. Is it possible to get sufficient information? Where? (2) Recognition of social change, or a dynamic society. (3) Interests of the students. (4) Success of the students in their undertakings. Witness the truth of the proverb,

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"Nothing succeeds like success!" (5) Integration with other field of material. (6) Transposition, which comes through recognition of similarities in many problems, which makes generalization possible and meaningful to the student instead of an imposed statement to be learned.29

As students' abilities are not equal, they should not be graded in relation to other students. They should compete only with their own previous efforts and be graded on their improvement. This will allow more dignity and self-respect, and will preclude much of the numbing effects of constantly falling below others in accomplishment. Records of work done, rather than the competitive grades, should be used for final judgment and for reports on the students' abilities.

In history instruction, much emphasis should be placed on the problem-solving method, following Dewey's five steps of thinking. Basic to this is research, which involves searching for pertinent material, selecting a bibliography, evaluating information, collecting, organizing and condensing it, and then making the final report. This puts emphasis upon educational processes and thinking rather than upon facts. The use of primary sources makes history more interesting, alive, and meaningful, if well chosen. The use of historical material for problemsolving trains in critical handling of historical evidence and should tend to halt public gullibility. The culmination of the whole method is organization, or synthesis, into a written form, which is what Morrison calls a method of writing one's self clear.

The development of certain basic skills in history and other social sciences must be provided for. These include browsing; reading to locate information; reading to understand; outlining; summarizing; interpreting cartoons, graphs, charts; making geographical locations; using of the library; and making wide and independent investigations.

There are three levels of instruction in history. These are fact, thought, and attitude. It is easy not to go beyond the first, particularly if education is understood to be the amassing of a great deal of knowledge. If, however, education is regarded as growth in behavior variability and a problem-solving method is used, the thought level should receive train-

ing according to the difficulty of the problem. The attitudes will accompany the reactions which follow the fact-finding and thought processes.

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An Integration Project in Civics and English

ELLA P. LEONARD

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The following is an account of an interesting integration project carried out in the low ninth grade at the J. C. Murphy Junior High School, in Atlanta, Georgia. It is in line with extensive experiments being carried on in this school during the past two or three years.

UNIT 1. (Time: four weeks)

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Experiences of recent years have turned our attention to the importance of sound economic principles in government and in private business. Now we realize as never before how essential it is that people should have a sane and understanding attitude toward questions involving economic principles and all the various interests that concern our financial well being. The distressing results of ignorance of those principles and conditions are too evident. This course undertakes to present a discussion of those vitally important topics in such a way that boys and girls of junior high age will not only understand these matters, but will be thoroughly interested in the discussion

The subject of vocations as a phase of economic citizenship receives special attention. The subject is handled in such a way as to give every pupil a general view of the whole vocational field and to measure his own interests and aptitudes for some specific field. In this way the boys and girls will be better prepared to face the years ahead when they must become responsible for their own livelihood and to solve the problems of a complicated industrial world.

Approach:

- 1. History tells the way things have happened.
- Geography deals with place element—environment.
- Literature tells the story from the emotional side.
- 4. Economics deals with men's relations with one another in satisfaction of wants.
- Civics emphasizes relationship as giving attention to personal conduct.

Newspapers, magazines, radios, movies, and plays are vitalizing in the study of citizenship in the making.

Objectives:

To help each pupil realize the problems that relate to his life and to direct his interests toward the field in which he would most likely render effective service.

To discover how and why present conditions came about.

To understand the organization of business and government.

To set up high ideals of life and conduct.

To think wisely and clearly in forming opinions. To gain additional means of spending spare time sensibly.

To have something to talk about with intelligent people.

To understand names, facts, and allusions in past and contemporary literature.

To obtain information that will be useful in certain occupations—such as law, journalism, and public office.

To read with understanding different types of literature.

Procedures:

In the ninth grade at the J. C. Murphy Junior High School we have integrated social studies and English with the aim of using them as tools to prepare better the pupil for his place in community life.

The teachers' preparation is reinforced by a community survey prepared under the direction of H. O. Burgess, principal of the school, and by a system of personal records giving insight into the home conditions of each child.

The center of interest for the work of the first semester is economic citizenship. While social science appeals primarily to the intellect, it may become a life directing force when illuminated by the emotional appeal of literature.

In the approach to economic citizenship the first unit is developed around problems of human wants

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and their satisfaction. This furnishes leads in turn to the development of economic life, the use of natural resources, and an introduction to vocations.

These topics include a wide range of subject matter which is of interest to the every day life of the pupil. In order to teach these topics all available material is utilized. The readings fall into three groups:

- (1) References to textbooks, bulletins, pamphlets, and expository articles chosen for value of content.
- (2) Realistic literature, such as biography, history, science, and travel stories selected for illustrative value.
- (3) Imaginative literature, novels, short stories, poems, and essays that interpret the unit.

By weaving the reading around the problems as they develop, the specific objectives of both English and civics may be acquired, and the experience of the child enriched by realizing the social issues involved in literature.

While the field of vocational guidance in junior high school is restricted, it may be widely used as a means of self discovery and introduction to study of vocation. It also serves to develop method in research and gives interest to theme writing. This study may not settle the question of vocation, but it may impress the pupil that it is his responsibility to select a job, prepare himself for it, and fit worthily into the pattern of family life and community service.

Pupil Activities:

- (1) Make a list of your wants on some particular day.
- (2) Write a play illustrating the different motives which cause people to work, bringing out an appreciation of the value of the services of different kinds of workers.
- (3) Make a graph showing the relative proportion of men and women to the total number of workers in the various fields.
- (4) Bring to class hand-made scarfs, rugs, dishes, and compare them with recent machine-made articles of similar character.
- (5) Draw cartoons showing the three periods of our economic life.
- (6) Make a list of the occupations of your father and your grandfathers. Point out changes from one generation to the next.
- (7) Report on the effect produced by: (a) invention of the cotton gin; (b) invention of the reaper; (c) work of Luther Burbank; (d) work of Seaman Knapp; (e) work of Booker Washington.
- (8) Trace the changes in the title of a given piece of property.

- (9) Discuss our public lands—National reservations and parks.
- (10) Compare a typical farm in 1895 and in 1935.
- (11) Discuss the management of a dairy.
- (12) Write an essay on truck gardening as a business.
- (13) Report on the forest service as a life work.
- (14) What has science done for the farmer?
- (15) Discuss tree surgery and its benefits.(16) Draw posters or invent slogans showing favorable side of farm life.

Evaluation of the Unit:

- (1) Objective tests.
- (2) Teacher's opinion.
- (3) Success or failure of the pupil in: (a) community; (b) school; (c) high school and college.

W. B. Yeats says that if we would create a great community our old foundations must be recreated so that the finest minds and the simplest ones must think about the same thing, although they may not think the same thing about it. With this end in view this experiment of integration through correlation of English and civics in the ninth grade was begun.

The aim is to provide not only the best possible training for the academic student, but also for the student of lower mentality who must be prepared to fill his place in social and economic life. This unit is presented to two groups: (1) 9 low one, a fast group. (2) 9 low five, a mixed group. Thus the problem becomes one of taking pupils of varying abilities and helping each one to find a significant problem of interest to himself, giving him freedom and guidance in its solution.

There are four tasks of practical interest to pupils:

- (1) Problems surrounding the home.
- (2) The community, including local government.
- (3) The problem of making a living.
- (4) The problem of gaining experience through literature.

To teach these topics, all available materials are used, including magazines, papers, and moving pictures. Often leads develop, apparently taking pupils away from the prescribed course. By keeping in mind the central problems which appear in one or the other of the persistent problems of life the interest of the pupil is maintained and he not only gets a more unified idea of each topic but comes to realize its practical importance.

Certain claims are made rather confidently as the work comes to a close at the end of the semester:

(1) The teacher having pupils two successive

- periods may use the time to better advantage.
- (2) The teacher knows the limitations of pupils and can do more remedial work.
- (3) The reciprocal interest vitalizes each subject.
- (4) The problem of gaining experience.
- (5) The field of information is broadened: (a) through current events; (b) through additional reading in literature.
- (6) More students are realizing the importance of education.
- (7) Students are appreciating the value of good citizenship.

Therefore I believe that the integrated program, where pupils and teachers live and learn together, is the type of education best fitted to develop wholesome personality and to prepare the pupil for useful citizenship in our community.

Training for Citizenship

FRANCES N. AHL

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The underlying purpose of public education in the United States is to build better citizenship. It is the responsibility of the schools to fashion the habits of thought and action that mold the organized conditions of society, and to train the youth of the nation to live intelligently and successfully in a great democracy. It is not enough that the schools should build minds; they must also build men. Knowledge and character are the pillars of a successful citizenry.

Doubtless the greatest weakness in our whole educational system has been the vain attempt to pour countless facts into the minds of the boys and girls rather than to train them in proper techniques of study. We have been so busy stressing subject matter that we have neglected the development of definite work habits and desirable social attitudes. We have emphasized material success and neglected cultural and spiritual values. We have been preparing youth to earn a living, but have not taught them how to live. Failures of our civilization are evident on every hand -the breakdown of the economic system, inefficiency in governmental units and corrupt political machines, lack of respect for law, failure of the American home, abandoned moral codes, and indifference toward religion.

Can the schools of tomorrow so train the boys and girls of this land to an understanding of democracy in every aspect and phase of life—an understanding so vital that it will be translated into reality? Can the schools do what the home, the press, the motion picture, and the radio have failed to do?

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If the schools are to succeed in laying firm foundations in those attitudes, purposes and ideas that will enable a democratic government to maintain itself, the social studies must assume the major responsibility. The social studies represent the problems which confront the citizen from day to day, and under our democratic system the citizen is called upon to elect officials who will solve these problems.

Students should be taught that as members of society they have an individual responsibility to that society—not at some future date but now. They should be given definite constructive tasks in the classroom, in the management of the school and in the betterment of the community. They should be made socially conscious and socially responsible.

Training for citizenship becomes most valuable when it is used or put into practice as the student goes along. Thus in class and at student body elections, boys and girls should learn to distinguish the worthy from the unworthy candidate. They should acquire a keen interest in voting that will carry over into the political life outside of the school. They should realize the importance of voting at every election—local and primary, as well as at the general state and national elections. They should look upon government as a great coöperative business in which they have a vital and immediate concern. As Elihu Root has well said: "The man who will not take the trouble to vote is a poor-spirited fellow, willing to live on the labors of others and to shirk the honorable obligation to do his share in return.

More time should be given to the reading of newspapers and current magazines and to the discussion of present day problems. Sources of information should be analyzed and criticized so that logical reasoning and careful judgment have an important place. Students should understand the difference between colored write-ups and news, between propaganda and fact. They should consider the slant of editorials.

But it is not enough for boys and girls to acquire knowledge through wide reading. They should make

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use of that knowledge. They should arouse the interest of their families, their friends, their communities. They should take an active part in the shaping of public opinion and in the determination of events. The youth of our land should assume real leadership.

Training for citizenship should emphasize the need for tolerance—tolerance of races, of religions and of political opinions. Students should be urged to read widely, to consider both sides of a question, and then to draw their own conclusions. But they should also learn to respect the opinions of those who do not agree with them. A spirit of broadmindedness and fair play should be cultivated.

A sympathetic understanding of humanity should be developed. There should be a kindly, friendly attitude toward all classes of people. There should be a desire and a willingness to work—to work hard, to surmount difficulties, to endure hardships, to solve problems. Every citizen should wish to support himself, and those dependent upon him. He should further realize that he has a responsibility to help care

for those less fortunate than he.

There should be instilled into the minds of youth the utmost respect for law. "True education," says John Ruskin, "is to make people not merely do the right things, but enjoy the right things." Certainly an army of 700,000 youthful criminals is an index of the need for more training in character. Ideals of honesty, integrity, and courtesy should be stressed. There should be a reverence for all that is pure and fine. "Man does not live by bread alone."

No preparation for citizenship is complete that

does not include a study of international affairs. As Charles A. Beard has so well stated it: "Our fate is not fashioned by domestic policies alone. Instead, no wise domestic policy can be framed without reference to the course of world events. The world is an economic unit, and the United States is being woven into the very fabric of that unit. To study the nature of the fabric and the operations that weave it—surely there is no greater obligation, public or private, than this."

Boys and girls should understand how dictatorships have come into existence, and that with the establishment of dictatorships, freedom of speech and press, freedom to assemble, and freedom to petition have been destroyed. They should realize that America need not choose between fascism and communism, but that democratic institutions can be maintained. The future of American democracy rests in their hands.

Interest in foreign countries and peoples should be stimulated, for the part which this country plays in world affairs must be determined by its citizens. Only by the promotion of good will among nations will we avert another world war. Peace is the final goal of all good citizens.

What contribution will the schools of tomorrow, and more especially the social studies, make to the training for citizenship? Will they send forth thinking young men and women who will honor their country with a deep reverence, will love her with an affection pure and fervent, and will serve her with a steadfast energy of purpose and a faithfulness of zeal?

Improving the Recitation

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Much has been written during the past few years concerning the "passing of the recitation." The purpose here is not to make any attempt to build up a defense for the obsolete recitation in which the pupil recites facts in so far as his memory will permit. If by the recitation we refer to the exchange of facts between teacher and pupil, then let us be thankful that the recitation is rapidly passing. However, if by the recitation we mean a stimulating discussion in the classroom on vital problems based on investigation, logical thinking processes and suspended judgment on the part of both pupil and teacher, then the recitation should have the foremost place in order to

secure the direct outcomes of social studies teaching.

There is an unusual opportunity afforded for this broader conception of the class discussion in dealing with current problems in the senior high school in connection with either the course in American history or problems of American democracy. Most of us have only scratched the surface in our attempts to make history teaching interesting and realistic for the pupil. We need to utilize the experiences and the lessons of the past in gaining a keener insight into the solution of present day problems. The facts of history have a vital place in this respect as a means to that end. The Commission on the Social Studies has re-

ported that the "main function of the social sciences is the acquisition of accurate knowledge of, and informed insight into, man and society." Information is not the end but the *means*. This conception of the social sciences should lead us further in the direction

of the ultimate goal of all education.

"No period in our history has been more critical than the present. Nor has any period presented more challenging problems which call for both a superior leadership and an intelligent use of the ballot." Controversial issues can and ought to have a place in classroom discussions. There is a real need for discussions of political, social, and economic problems "without the heat of emotionalism incensed by extreme partisanship" or bias. This is perhaps the greatest need of an intelligent electorate if democracy is to succeed. With this conception of the place and purpose of the classroom discussion, the writer offers a few suggestions which have proved helpful in his teaching of American history in the senior high school.

In the first place, more time should be given to pupil research and investigation. One of our objectives this year has been better discussions even at the expense of fewer discussions. Several class periods may be necessary for reading and investigation of the facts in connection with a special problem. No discussion has been permitted this year until after the majority of the pupils have conducted the necessary research. In some classes it has taken time to get pupils to realize the importance of this requirement, for some pupils evidently had the idea that the recitation was the time when they might learn enough from the other pupils in order to "get by" at examination time. With patience and persistence the teacher can dispel this idea, so prevalent in the old type of recitation, and build up a real appreciation for the sustained recitation.

Secondly, the discussion should be built around ideas rather than facts. This does not eliminate facts. Pupils need to be taught to recognize the importance of facts. But in order to be interesting and stimulating, the social studies recitation should manifest some creative thinking on the part of both teacher and pupil. The facts can be tested by the short-answer test or by some other method devised by the teacher. After the facts have been mastered the real enjoyment of the class discussion begins. The exchange of ideas and opinions based on careful research and freed from prejudices in so far as is humanly possible, leads the pupil to see the real values of the social studies. The teacher can then enjoy the rôle of helping pupils to think logically. All available sources of information should be used, and if possible the class should come to some definite conclusion concerning the particular problem. Pupils should be taught the importance of suspended judgments, but not at the expense

of always postponing decisions or taking a middle-ofthe-road view. If pupils realize that as times and circumstances change, they may need to change their opinions, we need not fear their attack of political, social, and economic problems after their formal high

school training is ended.

In the third place, the discussion will need variation. We seem to be living in an age in which people are demanding novel ways of doing things. This has become more prevalent with the advance of the press, the cinema, and the radio. The teacher cannot be expected to play the rôle of an actor or the director of a three-ring circus. But variations in the procedure of the class discussion will help to stimulate and sustain pupil interests. The actual conduct of the discussion will depend upon the nature of the problem for discussion, the abilities of the class and the ingenuity of the teacher. The following variations have been very helpful this year with senior classes:

(1) Formal discussions led by the teacher or a pupil.

(2) Formal debates.

(3) Special reports in the nature of floor talks.

(4) Forums.

(5) Panel discussions.

The first type proved most successful with the better groups—especially with the college preparatory groups. Pupils in this group are capable of giving a more sustained recitation based upon more mature judgments than are the slower groups. A pupil leader here can very often assume the leadership of the discussion.

Formal debates can be made very effective with the more mature groups. But generally speaking, most of the debating done on the secondary level is poorly done. Then of course it has limitations in that only a few participate. However, we may soon realize that debating may not be a lost art, as some would have us believe, especially since the present court issue is stimulating debate over the whole country.

The writer has found the forum and panel discussion the most effective means of gaining pupil participation. Recently a senior class prepared for a panel discussion on "The Proposed Reorganization of the Federal Judiciary." A chairman was selected and four speakers—two for the reorganization and two against. After the formal speeches were given, the chairman opened the discussion to the whole class. The group was about evenly divided on the question and a lively discussion ensued. The chairman demanded proof to support all statements made from the floor. Then in the last few minutes of the period, one person was called upon to make the summary. There was no doubt that this was one of the best discussions of the year. Pupils commented upon this fact and asked that more of our discussions be

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planned along similar lines. This particular period had made them realize that the discussion can be made stimulating and interesting when both teacher and pupil have this broader conception of the place and purpose of the recitation.

This type of recitation has certain limitations which must be considered if the plan is to be made practical. The success of the plan is dependent upon:

- (1) The attitude of the teacher.
- (2) Exhaustive studies of all possible sources of information.
- (3) The correct use and not the abuse of the plan.

Perhaps one of the reasons why the school is often criticized when it deals with controversial issues has been due, in part, to the attitude of the teacher. If opinions are forced upon the pupils by the teacher, then the public is justified in its criticism. However, if the teacher develops the right approach and creates a favorable atmosphere for freedom of discussion we may proceed far in our discussion of controversial issues. The development and appreciation of the freedom of discussion should be a primary objective of the social studies teacher.

The school cannot be free from just criticism unless it requires careful investigation of all possible sources of information before a controversial issue is discussed. Here is a vital need for the real facts, free from personal and partisan prejudices. The pupil needs to be made conscious of the influences of propaganda and to see the necessity for getting all the facts before he comes to a definite conclusion about a certain problem.

The plan can be abused by both pupil and teacher. Some pupils may get the idea that the more talkative pupils get the most attention. There will always be a few pupils in a class who will attempt to bluff, However, if the teacher will require evidence or basic facts for the conclusions reached by these more talkative pupils, their abuse of the plan will be short-lived. There is also a real challenge for the teacher to keep the discussion on this higher level. Unless the teacher develops the techniques of the sustained recitation, the class period may result in the exchange of generalities indicating that little real thinking is taking place. In striving to develop this improved recitation the teacher will be guiding pupils in the processes of clearer thinking and helping them to sense the practical values of facts no longer isolated from the real political, social, and economic problems awaiting solution by an intelligent electorate.

The Child Labor Amendment in the Social Studies Class

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The Child Labor Amendment is again the subject of heated, turbulent debate in many state legislatures. Its enemies are distorting the dangers of the amendment with their usual ruthlessness. The opponents are establishing every type of imaginable national calamity upon the broad language of the amendment. It would appear to be unbelievable that respectable citizens in the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and the members of well over twenty state legislatures, could have already approved such a pernicious change in the supreme law of the land.

In the social studies classroom there is a splendid method for stimulating a return to sanity in considering this controversial amendment. Place in the hands of every boy and girl a statement of the language of the amendment. Ask them to point out to the members of the class the words that would automatically prohibit all types of child labor in the home and elsewhere on the day that it becomes a part of the Constitution. Ask them to point out wherein it possesses all the iniquities its foes describe.

Challenge the pupils to be constructive. Ask them to revise the amendment so that it will at the same time: (1) abolish the evils of child labor, and (2) avoid the dangers which the amendment is said to possess. Discuss their revisions.

For a more thorough treatment of the problem, ask the pupils to write down what they believe to be the

¹Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association, *Conclusions and Recommendations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 7.

⁽New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 7.

""Catonsville Seniors Conduct Political Campaign and Election," Federation Parent-Teacher Association News, Published by Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations of Baltimore County, Towson, Maryland, November-December, 1936.

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dangers in the amendment before you give them copies of the actual language. Then let them prove that the dangers they have written about actually exist in the amendment. Require them to be specific in their criticism of the wording of the amendment.

Provide the class with a few periods to be used in reading newspaper and magazine articles on the subject. Request the opponents of the amendment to draft amendments to the proposition. Ask them to be prepared to defend the proposed changes before the critical examination of the class. Give the class every opportunity to discuss thoroughly each proposed amendment. Appoint a pupil chairman. Appoint a clerk to assist him. Keep a record of the various amendments. Follow the class voting upon each proposal. Compare the bill which the class evolves, providing it approves of modification of the present constitutional amendment with the original.

No matter what the class may do to the Child

Labor Amendment, rest assured of one thing, the members of the class participating in the enterprise will cease to be mere carping, destructive critics; they will profit immeasurably in developing a broadminded attitude toward the problem. A healthy attitude will be born. The procedure will prove to be an excellent antidote to the current practice of using high pressure emotional appeal on a serious national problem of social and economic injustice.

The proposed Child Labor Amendment reads:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress.

The Attitude of High School Pupils Toward History

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The creation of a favorable attitude toward history on the part of the pupils is generally recognized as a major objective by teachers of history in secondary schools. In 1929, Dr. Thurstone of the University of Chicago described a technique for measuring attitude objectively. This technique, slightly modified, was used to construct a scale for measuring the attitude of high-school pupils toward history, Form A of

which is presented herewith.

Each form of the scale consists of twenty statements, each of which expresses an opinion about history. The pupils mark each statement to indicate approval or disapproval. The scale is designed to be self-administering. A paper is scored by (1) marking opposite each statement which was approved by the pupil its scale value. (These are shown in parentheses to the left of the statements in the accompanying scale); and (2) finding either the mean (numerical average) or the median of the scale values for the statements which were approved by the pupil. A score between 5.5 and 6.6 indicates indifference. A score higher than 6.6 indicates a favorable attitude, while a score below 5.5 indicates an unfavorable at-

When a single form of the scale is administered the validity is .66, and the reliability is .84. If both

forms are administered the validity of the two forms combined is .73 and the reliability is .91. One form of the scale may be used with confidence for comparing the attitude of groups of pupils, but the use of two forms is advisable when it is desirable to compare the attitude of individual pupils.

This scale has been useful for studying modifications in attitude which appear to be related to various factors. Some interesting but only tentative results of these investigations are:

- Of several thousand pupils investigated, 87.2 per cent have liked history.
- (2) Junior high school pupils seem to have a more favorable attitude toward history than have senior high school pupils.
- (3) Pupils who elect the college-preparatory course seem to have a more favorable attitude toward history than have those pupils who have selected non-academic courses.
- (4) Boys appear to be slightly more favorable toward history than are girls.
- (5) There does not seem to be a significant relationship between intelligence and attitude toward history.
- (6) Significant, but low positive correlation,

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218 .32, exists between achievement in history 6. I don't mind history but it's hard to (6.4)and attitude toward history. keep dates and names in mind. (8.4)7. History is hard but interesting. ATTITUDE TOWARD HISTORY SCALE 8. I cannot understand history and I do (1.4)not like it; I am taking it only because Form A it is required. School — -Class -- Date-9. While history has its dry spots, these (9.3)These 20 statements express opinions concerning are offset by many interesting places, history. Read them carefully. Express your feeling so that it is one of the best subjects that about each statement by making a mark in front of a school could offer. it as follows: (4.0)10. Although you learn many desirable a check mark (\(\sqrt{} \) if you agree with the statement; things from history, I don't care for it. a cross (+) is you disagree with the statement; 11. While some parts of history are inter-(4.5)a question mark (?) if you cannot decide about the esting, it is hard and I do not like it especially well. This is not an examination. People differ in their (7.6)12. I enjoy history and find it interesting attitudes toward history, so any answer may be corexcept reading about laws and similar rect. You are to indicate your own attitude. Please do this without discussion. (1.9)13. I don't like history because I don't un-Scale derstand it no matter how hard I try. 14. Some phases of history are interesting value (5.3)1. History about some periods and but others are terribly boring. (5.9)peoples is all right, but history about 15. As I do not like history, it is not inter-(2.3)other periods and peoples is not so esting to me. 16. History is an interesting course al-(8.1)2. Since it teaches something different, I though at times it is rather hard. (10.3)think history is one of the most inter-17. I find history very interesting and help-(10.2)esting school subjects. 3. History is interesting only once in a 18. I think history is a subject every pupil (9.9)(4.8)should take as it helps us in our future 4. I like to learn of the differences be-(9.0)tween the life in the old days and to-19. I don't think history will help a boy (3.6)who is taking a vocational course un-5. While history is quite hard to study, less he intends to go to college. (9.7)

Have Historians Neglected the Supreme Court?

(2.8)

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One of our leading writers of history texts, under the heading, "Labor and the Courts," says: "The courts were more conservative than the legislatures and regarded themselves as the protectors of property. They were hostile to much of the earlier social legislation. . . . The pressure of public opinion gradually caused the courts to modify their attitude considerably. They began to recognize the right of the states to protect the life, health, and general well-

it is a very, very, worth-while subject,

and very interesting when you get at it.

being of the people and to uphold laws for their purpose even when they trespassed on the hitherto sacred rights' of property."1

20. History does not seem interesting

enough for the work done.

It is well that historians give some notice to the actions of the courts, for court decisions are the law of the land. Congress may pass an anti-trust law to prevent the evils of large aggregations of capital, but the Supreme Court may give the act such an interpretation that members of trade unions, and unions themselves, may be held for triple damages under such anti-trust acts. Congress may enter upon a policy of regulation of railways, but the courts may emasculate the legislation, and the policy of regulation may be made impotent thereby. A state may set up an industrial court2 to handle its labor disputes (1920), but the courts may take away the powers that the legislature granted. The people of the United States may adopt an amendment (fourteenth) to prohibit a state from depriving a "person" of certain rights, meaning by person a negro, but the courts may interpret the amendment to mean corporations (groups of persons) when it says "persons." It may be that the word "property" is generally well understood, but the courts declare that access to the market is a property right. In all such instances we see the gradual development of legislative powers by the courts, for they have given meanings to legislation that the legislatures never intended, and have taken from legislation the meanings that the legislatures intended it to have. For all these reasons, it is well that historians give more attention to the actions of courts. Particularly is this true since the writers of our texts in the main have largely overlooked the great decisions since the Dred Scott decision or have not seen their social significance.

If a typical teacher is asked to name the administrative acts of our Chief Executive during the past century, the list may be long and interesting. If a teacher is asked to name the acts of Congress during the past century, the list may likewise be long and interesting. If a teacher is asked to name the decisions of the Supreme Court during the past century, the list probably will be short and disappointing. It seems to be taken for granted either that court decisions are unimportant, or that they cannot be well understood.

Property rights in the United States are undergoing rapid change, not only from the changes in the form and nature of economic enterprise, but from court interpretations also. Corporations are becoming larger, shares of stock are becoming more widely scattered, control of capital is becoming more highly concentrated, and the evils of absentee ownership are multiplying, as Berle and Means have pointed out.3 Actually the owners have largely ceased to exercise their rights and ceased to assume the responsibilities of ownership, except to furnish capital for enterprise, at great risk to themselves. Legally, also, property rights are changing; since liberty is so closely associated with property, the historian may well note these fundamental economic and legal changes in property rights as defined by courts.

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In this article I shall use mainly the situations, the cases, and the legislation existing before 1933 rather than since, because it is believed pretty generally that since 1932 the contest between the judiciary on the one hand and the executive and legislative branches

on the other hand has taken the form of an unwarranted, if not unconstitutional, assault on the judiciary. This article could have been written in 1932 as well as in 1937; the numerous adverse decisions of a recalcitrant court, the spirited and aggressive attitude of President Roosevelt, and the publication of a number of books on courts have only brought to the light and to public attention the subtle forces that have operated since the 1870's. The atmosphere is beginning to clear, and the public is begining to see the philosophies and organizations of the various forces and classes in this great conflict over the court and the Constitution. Even high school students can see how their neighbors and fellow townsmen are lining up in this controversy, which is not waged on purely political grounds.

In a case decided in 1921 (Truax vs. Corrigan, 257 U.S. 312, 1921) in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, the late Chief Justice Taft said of the employers' rights: "Plaintiff's business is a property right (Duplex Printing Press Co. vs. Deering, 254 U.S. 443, 1921), and free access for employers, owners and customers, to his place of business is incident to such right." In the American Steel Foundries case the Court (257 U.S. 184, 1921), in discussing the nature and effect of picketing, said: "The nearer this importunate intercepting of employees or would-be employees is to the place of business, the greater the obstruction and interference with the business, and especially with the property right of access of the employer." 5

In the International News Service case the Supreme Court said: "The rule that a court of equity concerns itself only in the protection of property rights treats any civil rights of a pecuniary nature as a property right . . . and the right to acquire property by honest labor or the conduct of a lawful business is as much entitled to protection as the right to guard property already acquired."

Commons and Andrews have well shown the importance of this tendency in comparing it to the attitude of the courts toward union activities. "Most important, however, was the gradual identification of 'business' with property. 'Good will,' by which is meant the established relationships of a going business, had been recognized as property at an earlier date. Not until this period, however, did the courts recognize as property, also, the right 'to enter or do business,' by which is meant unhindered access to the commodity and labor markets. . . .

"The recognition of 'business' as 'property' ushered in the era of injunctions in labor disputes. Injunctions are sought primarily to protect the expectancies which are embraced in the right 'to do business.' In fact nobody thought of injunctions in connection with labor disputes until these expectancies were recognized as property."

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Frankfurter and Greene quote Justice Holmes approvingly when he dissented in the Truax vs. Corrigan case. Holmes said: "By calling a business 'property' you make it seem like land. . . . But you cannot give it definiteness of contour by calling it a thing." These writers then add: "Yet the term 'property' has been the lattice-work upon which the labor injunction has climbed."

Organized labor holds that the right to do business is a personal right, rather than a property right, and such opinion thus runs into conflict with the courts and court injunctions. Many legal scholars agree with the courts in this contention, saying that this concept merely squares with the facts of modern life, and is not discrimination against organized labor. It should be noted, however, that if the courts continue this interpretation, actually such interpretation will be discrimination, for the issuing of an injunction when such rights are at issue may injure the rights of labor more than it will protect the rights of employers. As Witte says: "In labor cases, the courts have given insufficient consideration to the familiar equity principles that the complainants must come into court with clean hands and that an injunction should be issued only when the loss which would result if no such order is granted is greater than the injury which the defendants would sustain if it were allowed."9

Bills have been introduced into Congress so as to limit the concept of property to that which is "tangible and transferable." A well informed labor leader said that the meat of such a bill in 1928 was to define the concept property. 10

to define the concept property.10

Groat well presents an argument, which is contrary to the majority opinion of the courts, in pointing out that the risk of not keeping one's market and goodwill is incident to competition, and that in refraining from using an employer's product, an employee is merely furthering his own welfare as he understands it, even if such refraining results in loss to the employer. Groat says: "To interpret this as a malicious destruction of one's business, which is property, and even to interpret it as an infringement of a property right is a manifestation of solicitude for one form of property (a business) at the expense of another form (labor) that is not easy to justify. The man .who goes into business assumes the risk of failure together with the chances of success."11 In the past "Americanism" has included the concept "business competition," under which one business might ruin another, and thus ruin property legally.

Do we have here one of the fundamental developments of our judiciary? Has this application of property rights to the labor market resulted in discrimination in favor of business and against labor? Have we here a situation that is as important in the study of our civilization as the actions of Congress or of the

Chief Executive?

There is now general recognition of the legality of trade unions, and the courts have come to recognize their legality. Yet, when trade unions use methods that are energetic in giving effectiveness to their purposes or which justify unions' very existence, the courts have generally declared these activities illegal, The employers have resorted to the anti-trust laws, to the common law on conspiracy, to the law of contracts, to the use of the injunction and to the military power, in order to make ineffective the boycott. unionization, and picketing, all with the cooperation of the courts. There has been developed the instrument called the "yellow dog" contract. Under this contract an employer may ask an employee, as one condition of his employment that he, upon beginning his employment, will sign an agreement that he is not a member of a labor union, and will not become a member of a union while so employed. This form of agreement is one of the main weapons used by em-

ployers in promoting the open shop.

The "yellow-dog" contract was involved in judicial interpretation of the Erdman Act. Congress, in this Act, attempted to set up a board of mediation for labor disputes between common carriers and labor. One provision, Section Ten, provided that during the period of arbitration and for three months after the award, no employee could be discharged by a common carrier except for good cause. A man named Adair, acting in behalf of a common carrier, discharged an employee, contrary to the Erdman Act. Litigation of the case was carried to the Supreme Court, which decided that an employer can discriminate against union men, can compel a man to sign a "yellow dog" contract, and that the Federal government cannot prohibit an employer from using such agreements. In the Coppage case in 1915, the Supreme Court decided that a state cannot prohibit an employer from using such agreements. In both decisions the opinion was divided, but these decisions and that of the Hitchman Coal Company case were the law of the land until 1932. As is usual in such cases, the court found the reasons for its decision in the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. In the Adair Case (1908) the court said that the personal liberty and the right to property were safeguarded by the fifth amendment. "Such liberty and right embrace the right to make contracts for the purchase of the labor of others . . . each right, however, being subject to the fundamental condition that no contract, whatever its subject matter, can be sustained which the law, upon reasonable grounds, forbids as inconsistent with the public interests, or as hurtful to the public order, or as detrimental to the common good." In other words if the court had believed, as Justice McKenna and Justice Holmes did believe, that this form of contract was detrimental to the common good, it would have been illegal and the Erdman Act constitutional.

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But the majority of the court held the contract legal, and the efforts of Congress and one-third of the state legislatures proved unavailing, for neither Congress nor legislature had the power to prohibit the use of such instruments in labor agreements.

Corwin, in noting this power of the courts says that a triple federalism has been developed in place of a dual federalism, and that it is "inserted between the realm of the national government and that of the states . . . a governmental vacuum, a political 'no man's land,' "where both state and federal government are impotent to exercise governmental functions.¹²

Justice McKenna, in dissenting to the court's majority opinion in the Adair case said that he could not see why Congress could not encourage a policy of arbitration which might prevent interruption of commerce and harm to the public welfare, by restraining the discharge of an employee, inasmuch as Congress did have the power to prevent rate agreements between railways themselves.¹⁸

In the Coppage case the court said: "To ask a man to agree, in advance, to refrain from affiliation with the union while retaining a certain position of employment, is not to ask him to give up any part of his constitutional freedom. He is free to decline the employment on those terms, just as the employer may decline to offer employment on any other." One is tempted to ask: "How real is such freedom?"

Again in the Hitchman Coal Company case the court restated its position that an employer can discriminate against union men. The decision includes these words: "It is a sufficient answer, in law, to repeat that plaintiff had a legal and constitutional right to exclude union men from its employ." 15

In commenting on the logic of these cases bearing on "yellow dog" contracts, Frankfurter and Greene said of the Supreme Court: "Though actually intervening in the push and tussle of the industrial conflict, the Court seems not to move outside the logical framework of an abstract syllogism; freedom of contract and the right of private property are protected by the constitution; 'whenever the right of private property exists, there must and will be inequalities of fortune'; it is 'impossible to uphold freedom of contract and the right of private property without at the same time recognizing as legitimate those inequalities of fortune that are the necessary result of the exercise of those rights.' Such reasoning presupposes a perfectly balanced symmetry of rights; the employer and employee are on an equality, and legislation which disturbs that equality is 'an arbitrary interference with the liberty of contract which no government can legally justify in a free land.' In vain did Mr. Justice Holmes oppose such jejune abstractions by insisting on the realism behind the aim of law to further an actual 'equality of position between the parties in

which liberty of contract begins.' Against such efforts the majority invoked the Constitution." The court overlooked the significant fact that a corporation-employer is a *union* of persons who put their capital and effort together to further their own interests.

Needless to say many employers took advantage of these decisions, and the open shop program made headway. The system of the open shop, known as the American plan, spread over the coal fields of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, so that it can be said: "Recent hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee furnish ample testimony that it is today one of the most active forces in large scale industry."17 It is needless also to say that organized labor opposed such interpretations of the constitutional powers of Congress and legislative assemblies. Organized labor began to exert pressure in the selection of judges for the Supreme Court. Justice Parker in the Red Jacket case had issued a federal injunction upholding the 'yellow dog' contract, citing the opinions of the Supreme Court in justification. In 1930, when he was nominated for the Supreme Court, the Senate failed to approve the nomination, and Justice Parker was thereby kept off the Supreme Bench. The rejection by the Senate was approved by organized labor, and there is little doubt that the action of organized labor was largely responsible for Justice Parker's rejection.18

In the Danbury Hatters' case the court held the members of the union liable for three-fold damages, under the Sherman Act. Even before the case was finally decided in 1915, Congress in the Clayton Act, attempted to give organized labor some freedom from what labor believed to be the oppressive tactics of a conservative court. Congress was soon to find that it was not protecting organized labor from such decisions. A number of court decisions soon disillusioned Congress and organized labor also. In the Coronado Coal Company case (1922) the court said that a union itself could be held for three-fold damages under the anti-trust acts. 19 In the Duplex Printing Press Company case (1921) the court held that the Clayton Act did not legalize the secondary boycott; nor did it prohibit the courts from using the injunction in labor disputes.20 In Truax vs. Corrigan (1921) the court held that picketing in this case was too aggressive and annoying, such picketing thus depriving the owner of his business and property; and that no state could prohibit a court from granting injunctions against such picketing.21 In the American Steel Foundries case (1921) the court held that the pickets should be limited in number and location. The court said: "We think that the strikers and their sympathizers engaged in the economic struggle should be limited to one representative for each point of ingress and egress in the plant or place of business, and that all others be enjoined from congregating or

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loitering at the plant or in the neighboring streets by which access is had to the plant."²² In the Bedford Cut Stone Company case (274 U.S. 37, 1927) the court held that union men could be enjoined from refusing to handle stone that had been worked on by non-union men. In dissenting on this case Justice Brandeis said that if refusal to work could be enjoined by a court, then "Congress created by the Sherman Act an instrument for imposing restraints upon labor which reminds of involuntary servitude."²³

The extent to which federal courts have gone in issuing injunctions in labor disputes is all too well known. Stereotyped forms of injunctions have been developed, and used in case after case, with little possibility of making, and less attempt to make, appropriate application of injunction principles to given cases. The language of the injunctions is vague, prolix, and all inclusive. The decrees have been of a blanket nature, allegedly unconstitutional, and certainly unenforceable. Of all these alleged abuses, and others, Frankfurter and Greene write as follows: "To make the infraction of a criminal statute a contempt of court is essentially an invention to evade the safeguards of criminal procedure and to change the tribunal for determining guilt. To sanction vague and undefinable terminology in 'drag net' clauses largely unenforceable, and certainly unenforced, is to distort the injunction into a 'scarecrow' device for curbing the economic pressure of the strike and thereby to discredit equity's function in law enforcement. To approve decrees that in form are like the idiot's tale, 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing,' each decree the replica of another and usually the partisan phrasing of counsel, but in substance compendia of legal rules purporting minutely to regulate conduct, is to rest faith in a cabala."24

It may be the court is right in all these decisions, and in others of like import. A minority of the court believes otherwise. Many of the state legislatures have thought otherwise. Organized labor also believes otherwise. A Republican Congress, in 1932, in the Norris-LaGuardia Act, thought otherwise, and passed legislation that is entirely contrary to the decisions of the Supreme Court. This act attempts to limit federal courts in the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and in particular attempts to preserve for labor its alleged constitutional rights; it attempts to protect unions and its members from liability under the antitrust acts for unlawful acts committed in behalf of labor in labor disputes. This act attempts to give labor the right which corporations have, of "reasonably" restraining trade without suffering penalties.25

In the National Industrial Recovery Act, a Democratic Congress gave labor further rights of organization, and encouraged organization for purposes of code information. This act also outlawed the "yellow dog" contract, and provided a mechanism under government administration that is a long step toward "setting" minimum wages, even though the Supreme Court in 1923 had overthrown minimum wage legislation, if such legislation were mandatory. Congress probably voiced the popular sentiment in such legislation, but this act was unanimously rejected by the Supreme Court on the ground of unconstitutional delegation of power to the executive department.

A thorough study of such matters as have been presented in this article has led Commons to point out: "It is the United States Supreme Court that now defines what is property, while those who naïvely read the Constitution literally assume that the definition of property is left to the states. Where communism and fascism abolished legislatures and courts by substituting decrees of the executive branch of government, the American system subordinates executives and legislatures to the decrees of the United States Supreme Court. The Federal Court becomes the American brand of dictatorship." This is not the statement of a "red" or "parlor pink," but of the scholar who gave Congress advice on monetary policy, during the Hoover administration.

A similar point of view was expressed by Haines when he said: "Today the courts are commonly recognized as superior to the other departments of government and they take a decisive part in the legislative process. They openly direct governmental activity by determining the trend of legislation affecting many phases of modern society. They have in fact come to treat as unconstitutional practically all legislation which they deem unwise. . . . It is openly announced that it is part of the judiciary duty to check measures . . . not in accord with progress as judicially understood. . . . The fact is that they exercise in the course of their manifold functions every form of governmental power, legislative, executive, administrative, and judicial."²⁷

Perhaps the proponents of leaving the supreme power with the courts have their symbolism enforced from the idea of industrial representation followed by many of our large business enterprises. Employees are given joint representation, at which various matters of mutual interest are discussed, and resolutions are passed. Final action is left with the board of directors, just as final action on legislation is left with the Supreme Court. At any rate, the analogy is suggestive.

We have been concerned in this article with only a few of the actions of the Supreme Court. Others might be developed, along other lines. But probably enough has been presented to act as encouragement for historians to ferret out more fully than they have in the past the fundamental tendencies in government. Modern history is concerned with popular movements and mass welfare. It may be possible to find these movements and forces closely related to the philoso-

phies, actions and interpretations of the personnel of the Supreme Court, more closely than has been noted heretofore. It may be that the future historian of the present generation and the preceding generations will find in the decisions of the Supreme Court far more forces of society centering there than have been generally seen in other preceding generations.

Finally, is it true that the Supreme Court has deferred to popular opinion, as Professor Muzzey has stated? If so, when did the court begin to respect the legislation which the popular assemblies enacted in behalf of the people? Is there a fundamental difference between the philosophy of the majority of the court on the one hand, and that of the representatives of the people on the other? Do Americans believe in representative government? What is the philosophy of the minority members of the court, and will such philosophy probably prevail more as time goes on? Should the court be "packed"? Are historians sufficiently aware of the significance of the answers to these questions? Do the decisions of the Supreme Court seem deserving of further study and interpretation by historians? To the author it seems that a fruitful field awaits the thought, effort and cultivation by the writers of history.28

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⁸ 257 U. S. 312, 327, 1921; F. Frankfurter, and N. Greene,

op. cit., p. 48.

⁹ E. E. Witte, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

¹⁰ F. Frankfurter, and N. Greene, op. cit., p. 48, note A, and

"G. G. Groat, Organized Labor in America (New York:

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¹⁴ A. R. Ellingwood and W. Coombs, op. cit., pp. 305-308; J. R. Commons and J. B. Andrews, op. cit., pp. 150-152; E. E. Witte, op. cit., pp. 211-213; 208 U. S. 161, 1908.

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The state and N. Greene, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

³⁷ F. Frankfurter and N. Greene, op. cti., pp. 147-148.
³⁸ F. Frankfurter and N. Greene, op. cti., pp. 148-149.
³⁹ C. R. Daugherty, Labor Problems in American Industry
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), pp. 392, 576.
³⁰ E. E. Witte, op. cit., pp. 136-138; A. R. Ellingwood and
W. Coombs, op. cit., pp. 91-97; 259 U. S. 344, 1922.
²⁰ A. R. Ellingwood and W. Coombs, op. cit., pp. 229-237;
²¹ A. I. S. 443, 1921.

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A. R. Ellingwood and W. Coombs, op. cit., pp. 250-256;

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27 A. R. Ellingwood and W. Coombs, op. cit., pp. 241-242;

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25 John R. Commons, Institutional Economics (New York:

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Many historian would profit much from a careful reading of Edward L. Corwin, The Twilight of the Supreme Court, and C. G. Haines, The American Doctrine of Judicial Supremacy, both the Some of the recent histories are giving much more quoted above. Some of the recent histories are giving much more attention to the decisions of the courts. This is true of N. W. Stephenson, A History of the American People (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), and M. W. Jernegan, H. E. Carlson, and A. C. Ross, Growth of the American People (New York: Longmans Green and Company, 1936).

The Portuguese Republic

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

Columbia University, New York

On February 1, 1908, King Carlos I of Portugal and his eldest son were shot dead while driving through the streets of Lisbon. During the nineteen years of his reign Carlos had made himself exceedingly unpopular by his reputedly licentious and extravagant living and by his toleration of a corrupt system of national politics know as "rotativism." This was an arrangement whereby the leaders of the two chief parties held office in fairly regular rotation,

agreed amicably upon a division of the political spoils, and obstructed the election of republicans and independents to parliament. In 1907, following a particularly serious outburst among republican and workingclass elements, Carlos had invested his prime minister, João Franco, with dictatorial powers. Though honest and patriotic, Franco had been too harsh in his methods and too defiant of the rights of the citizens to receive popular support for his actions. The fatal

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conspiracy against the king was the answer of the dissentients to the administrative reign of terror

which Franco had inaugurated.

After the assassination, the late king's younger son, a pleasant but inexperienced youth, ascended the throne as Manoel II. Unfortunately, the responsible leaders, who were separated from the main body of the people by a wide intellectual and cultural gap, seemed to have learned but little from the incident, and the internal situation became worse rather than better. Franco, the only strong man among the monarchists, was in exile, and the other politicians quickly resumed their rotativist policies. Economic conditions, moreover, were very bad, and the over-taxed peasantry was in no more mood than the underfed proletariat to tolerate further official incompetence, arbitrariness, and corruption. Small wonder, therefore, that less than two years after Manoel became king, the murder of a popular republican physician precipitated a general revolution (October 1910). The soldiers stationed in Lisbon, armed civilians, and sailors from the warships anchored in the Tagus River took part in the uprising which resulted in the overthrow and banishment of the Braganza dynasty and the setting up of a republic under the temporary presidency of Dr. Joaquim Theophilo Braga.

While the young Manoel II fled to England with his family, the provisional authorities busied themselves with the drawing up of a constitution—a task which was not completed until the following August. The finished document provided for a Cortes or parliament of two houses: a National Council elected for three years on a basis of universal manhood suffrage and a Senate chosen by the local legislative bodies for a similar period. A president, for a fouryear term, was to be elected by joint vote of the two

houses.

Dr. Manoel de Arriaga was chosen first constitutional president of the new republic (August 24, 1911). His administration, however, was characterized by disturbances which were hardly less serious than those which King Manoel had had to face. Royalists plotted the restoration of the Braganzas. Clericals were antagonized by the expulsion of the religious orders, the confiscation of the property of these orders, the complete separation of church and state in 1911, and the abolition, two years later, of the Portuguese legation at the Vatican. The laboring masses and the peasants, finally, were discontented because of the tardiness with which the bourgeois republican leaders introduced the expected economic and social reforms. Hence, to keep themselves in power, the very leaders who had fulminated against the monarchist régime because of its resort to bribery, corruption, censorship, and force, now made use of the selfsame tactics. Electoral returns were manipulated; the jails were filled to overflowing with political offenders; freedom of speech, press, and assembly was restricted in an ingenious variety of ways; and the army was called upon to enforce the obnoxious decrees. The fact that almost seventy-five per cent of the population was illiterate, the lack of muchneeded capital to develop the relatively abundant resources, and the constant fear for the loss of the country's large and expensive colonial possessions added much to the general confusion and political

humidity.

When the World War broke out, the question of what course Portugal should pursue had only a temporary unifying influence on the populace. The government, for traditional reasons and because of Portugal's dependence upon coal and other imports and the income from her extensive fisheries, early decided to abide by the terms of an alliance of 1661 with England. Without the formality of a declaration of war, Portuguese expeditionary forces soon were sent to fight against the Germans in southwestern and eastern Africa. Yet it was not until March 1916, after Portugal had seized a quarter-million tons of German shipping that had sought refuge in the supposedly neutral Portuguese harbors, that Germany finally declared war on the republic. In the remaining months of the struggle Portugal lost many ships through submarine sinkings, while about forty thousand Portuguese soldiers were despatched to fight on the western front. Twenty thousand additional men were being held in readiness to proceed to France but the hostilities ended before they were sent off. As her reward for services rendered, Portugal received from the Paris Peace Conference the Kionga Triangle (four hundred square miles), acquired by Germany in 1894 from Portuguese East Africa or Mozambique, and a claim to three-quarters of one per cent of the German reparation payments.

Sporadic revolts and uprisings were the outstanding feature of Portuguese internal development during the war years. Owing to the lack of cotton, gasoline, coal, tin plate and other raw materials, many factories had to suspend operation, while a possible wartime impetus to agricultural progress was hindered by the absence of cheap transport facilities and the inefficient use of fertilizers. The most serious of the outbreaks occurred in December 1917 and resulted in the eventual selection of Major Sidonio Paes as president. The new executive, who soon became dictator, prosecuted the war activities with vigor and restored a semblance of order in the land. In December 1918, however, he was assassinated and for the next eight years Portugal was in a state of virtual anarchy.

Government after government rose and fell, tenures of office ranging from three days to a year and a half. From 1918 to 1926 the story of Portuguese national life was hardly more than a tragic record of naval mutinies, riots, organized rebellions, peasant

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uprisings, monarchist intrigues, bomb throwings, strikes, assassinations, arbitrary decrees, bank scandals, depreciating currency, mounting deficits, kidnappings, and colonial difficulties. By the summer of 1926 the national debt had risen to about \$400,000,000, the budget was in a precarious position, and the country was groaning under an excessive tax burden. Though her total population numbered only a little over six millions, Portugal in 1926 suffered the loss of almost forty thousand immigrants, mostly peasants, of whom nearly thirty thousand went to Brazil. With acute insight, an observer was led to remark: "Verily, Portugal's chief export seems to be peasants!" The only bright spots during these years appeared to be the outward reconciliation between clericals and anti-clericals, the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and a slightly increasing interest in the problem of elementary educa-

Better times apparently were as far off as ever when General António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona, after a display of force, became premier on July 9, 1926. More than two score cabinets had preceded his in the sixteen years since the revolution of 1910 and in the same period eighteen major revolutionary movements had troubled the land. Undaunted, Carmona, less than five months after he had organized his govement, "assumed" the presidency of Portugal. Within an additional sixteen months his control throughout the country was so well consolidated that he was elected president (March 25, 1928) for four years by popular vote. It happened that he was the only candidate, and the authorities were said to have predicted a "satisfactory" outcome of the election beforehand. Parliament, meanwhile, had been suspended indefinitely, for the presidential dictator preferred to rule merely with the assistance of a military

In 1932, just before President Carmona's term of office was about to expire, the government proclaimed an extension of his incumbency until 1934. The force of this arbitrary announcement was somewhat lessened by the appointment of a number of civilian ministers and the reorganization of the directorate as a military-civilian cabinet. In May 1932, moreover, the text of a proposed new constitution was made public and ten months later (March 19, 1933) the document was submitted to a referendum of the people. It was adopted by a large majority, though many citizens abstained from voting, and went into force on April 12, 1933. This constitution, later slightly modified, provided for a National Assembly of ninety deputies elected for four years by persons, regardless of sex, who were responsible heads of families, and for a popularly elected president with a seven-year term and full control over the appointment and dismissal of cabinet officers. Parallel with this body there was to function a Corporative Chamber of seventynine members chosen by local "corporations" representing administrative, moral, cultural, and economic activities.

Elections for the first National Assembly under the new constitution were held on December 16, 1934. The single National Union ticket—naturally of progovernment sympathies—was endorsed by more than four-fifths of the voters. On January 11, 1935, the president and his Privy Council convened the Assembly and Corporative Chamber, which since then have functioned with regularity. President Carmona, as unopposed candidate, was reëlected on February 17, 1935, for a seven-year term to expire on April 15, 1942. For the major portion of his incumbency, President Carmona has shared his dictatorial control with the youthful Premier and Finance Minister António de Oliveira Salazar, a former professor, a devout Catholic, and an authority on the evolution of Portuguese currency.

The Carmona-Salazar administration has been marked by the reform of numerous abuses and the introduction of many improvements. Despite the periodic recurrence of revolts and conspiracies, both monarchist and radical, a measure of law and order has been restored. The currency was stabilized on a gold basis at about twenty-two escudos to the gold dollar. Many miles of excellent new wagon and motor roads have been built. The state-owned railways, with a trackage of approximately nine hundred miles, have been leased to private companies and have become a source of revenue rather than an expense, while the twelve hundred miles of privately-owned lines have aided greatly in the development of such natural resources as coal. The housing situation and street-lighting systems in Lisbon and other cities have been greatly improved. Although landlords have been permitted gradually to raise their rents, new-home builders have been encouraged by the promise of exemption from taxation for ten years. An extensive public-works program, involving an outlay of millions of escudos, has been adopted. Thousands of superfluous government employees have been dismissed, strict economy has become the watchword of most government departments, and the budget has shown a surplus ever since the fiscal year 1928-1929. Illiteracy has been reduced to less than fifty-two per

The country's leading industries—wine, cork, nuts, and fish, particularly sardines—have been fostered in a variety of ways. Special efforts have been made to regulate and raise the price of cork, and, with the full support of all nationalists, the tariffs on such imports as tobacco and kerosene have been greatly raised, especially since 1932. In 1928 a League of Nations committee endorsed Portugal's request for a loan of about \$60,000,000, but under supervisory

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conditions which the republic considered incompatible with its sovereign status. Internal loans, therefore, have been resorted to by the authorities and import and export duties have become heavier and heavier. During the world depression Portugal, of course, suffered like every other country. Between 1930 and 1933 considerable hardship was caused by the overproduction of wine; the falling price of sardines owing to a series of unusually good catches; the fluctuation of the escudo; the suspension of Brazilian interest payments on bonds; and the cost of putting down serious rebellions in the Madeira and Azores Islands and Portuguese Guinea. At the end of 1933 the prospect of wholesale wine exportations to the United States consequent upon the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment brightened the economic outlook, but the actual volume of sales proved to be disappointing. The lack of electric power has hampered the working of potentially profitable mines, and the annual balance of trade has remained consistently unfavorable.

In her foreign relations, Portugal under the Carmona régime has striven for a rapprochement with Rightist Spain (as exemplified by Lisbon's friendly attitude towards the Insurgents in the Spanish civil war which broke out in July 1936) and a greater independence of Great Britain. This latter was clearly shown, for example, in an attempt of 1931 to aid the Portuguese shipping industry by a discriminatory impost on goods brought to Portugal in foreign bottoms. The Portuguese nationalists applauded this move and it greatly enhanced the prestige of the government, but it led the London Chamber of Commerce to ask the British authorities to cancel the Anglo-Portuguese Commercial Treaty upon its expiration. The whole subject of Anglo-Portuguese relations, morever, has become closely tied up with one of the most difficult problems still facing the Portuguese government: that of making the republic's enormous colonial possessions profitable and secure.

The Portuguese colonial empire in Africa and Asia comprises an area of more than 800,000 square miles. It is the fifth largest in the world and twenty-three times as big as the mother country. The upkeep is expensive beyond Portuguese means and hence most

of the area is in dire need of economic development and capital investment. Consequently there is the persistent worry that Great Britain and Germany (and perhaps Italy and Japan as well) may be casting lustful glances at this far-flung domain: at Angola and Mozambique in western and eastern Africa, respectively, at the Cape Verde Islands and Portuguese Guinea, at the African islands of São Thomé and Principe, at Portugal's Indian and East Indian holdings, and at Macao, off the coast of China. Although British capital is firmly entrenched in most of these regions, it has of late been hinted with increasing frequency that Germany's colonial aspirations and raw-material demands might be met by a "redistribution" of Portugal's undeveloped and potentially valuable oversea empire. So seriously, if unofficially, is this question being discussed, that a whole new literature on the colonies has suddenly sprung into existence, the most useful, brief comments being contained in Robert Gale Woolbert's thoughtful, "The Future of Portugal's Colonies," in Foreign Affairs for January 1937. To devise means of solving the colonial difficulties and to consider the foreign threat, the Portuguese authorities, during the summer of 1933. called together a special conference at Lisbon of all colonial governors and high commissioners to discuss such matters as colonial taxation, education, transportation, communication, and defense. Among other things, it was decided to build a powerful government radio broadcasting station from which patriotic talks and music could be sent forth to all the colonies as apostles of steadfastness and loyalty.

Under the rule of President Carmona and Premier Salazar, then, Portugal has been experiencing somewhat better economic conditions and more efficient administration than for many a decade. Today many Portuguese are eagerly looking forward to the time when Portugal shall again be listened to in the councils of the nations. Still further emphasis on the education of the masses, energetic and sincere coöperation among all the patriotic elements in the state, and a wise and peaceful foreign policy should make the accomplishment of this end a matter of the not-too-

distant future.

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News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF Girard College, Philadelphia

TEACHER TRAINING

High school teachers will be interested in a report "on the program of graduate study which institutions of higher education should organize for the preparation of secondary-school teachers." This report was the work of a committee of the Association of American Universities, of which Professor Charles H. Judd was chairman. The report was submitted at the meeting of the Association last autumn. Among the recommendations that were made, two may be singled out:

(1) The trend toward the requirement of study beyond the baccalaureate degree for all teachers in secondary schools is to be highly commended.

(2) A systematic program of study beginning with the junior year of college should be recommended to all candidates for teaching positions in secondary schools. Such a program should be based on a broad foundation of cultural studies largely completed by the end of the sophomore year. It should include (a) preparation in one or more fields of study rather than intensive specialization in a single department and (b) special professional preparation. . . .

In view of the purposes of secondary education, these recommendations are very appropriate.

PROGRAM FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

Each year, in its turn, confirms the fact that high schools play a vital part in American life. Each year emphasizes the need of a program for secondary education and for public understanding and support for it. What should be the groundwork for such a program? The report of the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education of the NEA Department of Secondary School Principals entitled, "Issues of Secondary Education" (Bulletin 59, 1936, NEA Department of Secondary School Principals), presents the fundamental issues and the principles and methods for meeting them.

The implications of the report, which bids fair to become a milestone in American secondary education, are far reaching. A twelve page presentation and discussion of the chief proposals of the Committee on Orientation are given in *The Journal of the National Education Association* for March 1937.

Youth

In September 1935 The American Youth Commission was organized by the American Council on Education. The Commission was asked to:

(1) Consider all the needs of American youth and appraise the facilities and resources for serving these needs;

(2) Recommend eventually some procedures and programs which seem to be most effective in solving the problems of youth;

(3) Popularize and promote desirable plans of action through conferences, publications, and demonstrations.

Dr. Homer P. Rainey, former president of Bucknell University, is Director of the Commission.

The Commission publishes a monthly American Youth Commission Bulletin (744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.), the first number appearing in March of this year.

The Commission is now conducting surveys in Maryland, and also in Muncie, Indiana, and Dallas, Texas, in order "to learn what youth are doing and thinking and how effectively their needs are being met." The surveys cover a small city, a medium-sized city, and a representative state which contains a large city and possesses a varied agricultural and industrial set-up. More than 20,000 young people between twelve and twenty-five years of age, from all social and economic levels, are being interviewed. Besides the usual information about age, sex, schooling, etc., information is sought on "the individual's attitude on home life, marriage, religion, drinking, war, government, and many other matters."

A report of the study, it is expected, will be made to the American Youth Commission at its October meeting. Out of the study probably will come recommendations of youth programs for communities whose problems are similar to those revealed by these surveys.

TAXATION

Scholastic, The American High School Weekly, gives over its social studies edition for February 27, 1937 to the subject of taxation. Such questions are discussed as the kinds of taxes laid in this country, national, state, and local, the growing costs of gov-

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ernment, weaknesses and defects of our system, comparison of our tax burden with that of England and France. A brief bibliography of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles is included.

PARIS PACT

The National Student Forum on the Paris Pact invites the social studies departments of secondary schools to participate in a program for the study of international relations in the light of the Paris Pact. The Forum has planned several projects for such study this year. Since 1929 about 12,000 high schools have enrolled with the Forum to conduct such study.

Full particulars can be secured from Arthur Ć. Watkins, Director, National Student Forum, 532 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

COMMUNITY AGENCIES AND CHARACTER GROWTH

In December 1930 the Journal of Educational Sociology discussed theories underlying various aspects of character education. In December 1933 The Journal reported on "thirty experiments in character education under the direction of Professor Charles C. Peters at Pennsylvania State College." The subject is further studied in the March 1937 issue, which is devoted to the subject, "Community Agencies and Character Growth." Desirable local and state-wide policies and practices now being developed in various places are presented, the contributions of mental hygiene are indicated, closer cooperation of schools, churches, and other agencies interested in character education is urged, and suggestions are made for furthering school programs of character building today.

DEFENSE OF POLITICIANS

In the January 1937 issue of Talks, the quarterly digest of addresses broadcast over the Columbia network, is an arresting defense of politicians by Professor T. V. Smith. Dr. Smith is well known as professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago and as an Illinois State Senator. As a senator Dr. Smith spoke on, "Yeah, I'm a Politician," and declared that a politician is the saint of the civilizing process rather than its arch sinner. The politician is "the secular priest or prophet of democracy."

Senator Smith insists that while people commonly want their own way, the politician perceives the good in diverse views and works out the compromises which insure coöperative action, and thus saves much for society out of the conflict of interests. "Many good people can not compromise their own interests without feeling themselves compromised. The politician can; that is his business."

To Senator Smith, Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini are not politicians because they adhere to the belief that nobody outside their own kind "has any rights

that must be respected." This attitude he calls savage and says it menaces civilization. The politician, the compromiser, permits conflicting interests to exist and make their contribution. Furthermore, says he, civilization requires specialization, but specialization must be coördinated if there is to be civilization. Politicians "furnish the social cement necessary to build civilization out of specialization. By becoming specialists of things in general, they enable highly particular skills to function harmoniously in the life of city, state, and nation." Senator Smith does not overlook the weaknesses in his political saints, and pleads for an improved civil service and the use of specialists in many phases of government.

PRESS AND PUBLIC

The New Republic for March 17, 1937 includes a fourteen page supplement on "The Press and the Public." It is a study of the influences of the press in the last presidential election, the basis of study being the compaign literature, in news, editorial, and special feature, in the newspapers of our fifteen largest cities. The inquiry is summed up in six topics: Press v. Public; The Press and Its Owners; Behaviorism; Columns Right; The Unknown Quantity; and Conclusions.

As a result of the study, tentative answers are given to a half-dozen questions:

Is the press getting better or worse?

Is censorship an important issue with the American press?

Is any censorship or control exercised by adver-

tisers?

Is the influence of the editorial page declining? What effect will the radio have upon the press? How can the press be improved?

ORDINANCE OF 1787

In order to bring together between the covers of one book an adequate study of the history of the Ordinance of 1787 and its effects upon the development of government the federal Northwest Territory Celebration Commission is offering a prize of \$1000 for the best standard work, in manuscript form, on the subject. The contest, which is open to any citizen in the United States, will close on June 1, 1938.

Full particulars will be furnished by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission, Marietta, Ohio.

THE AMERICAN WAY

Harper's Magazine also is offering a prize of \$1000 for the best contribution on "The American Way," a critical study of American traditions and ideals in the light of new economic and social conditions. All manuscripts must be submitted before September 15, 1937. Instructions for contestants is given in the April 1937 issue, page 556.

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WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS

The hope of peace still seems less real than the threat of war. In the March 1937 issue of Current History the editors review the recent history of "Japan and the Far East." Their survey of motives, ambitions, events, and other forces at work there lead them to the conclusion that "the 'Open Door' is slammed tight in the face of the Western powers." Ignatius Phayre, in "Britain's Bulwark Against Japan," points out the meaning of British activity in fortifying Singapore. Frank C. Hanighen discusses "Portugal's Plight" and sees her drifting away from Britain and toward Germany, while Lawrence A. Fernsworth seeks to explain the foreign intervention in Spanish civil war by studying "Foreign Aims in Spain." It seems very fitting, in the midst of these articles, to find Emil Ludwig writing on "The Coming War" as inevitable. For citizens of the United States there is a warning in the symposium on "War Debts." H. C. LeClair, Harry Tripper, and H. Parker Willis review the background of the problem, look at those debts through the eyes of business men, and suggest what may be done to settle the problem of war debts.

In Fortune for the same month appears a challenging article on "Background of War, I: British Foreign Policy." Its keynote is sounded in this heading: "Performance of an Empire which has avoided four wars in the last four years at the cost of a shattered peace system, a stolen Asiatic dominion, a conquered African kingdom, a ravished European republicand a rearmed, blustering foe." The citizens of the United States are vitally interested in British foreign policy, the article warns, because England has suffered failure and humiliation in recent years just when she and France form in Europe the front line of democratic defense. If Great Britain "should be overwhelmed, democracy in this hemisphere would be endangered." Having thus prepared the American reader's mind, the British record in foreign relations since March 1933 is summarized. The thesis is maintained that during the last four years Great Britain has sought ever "to avoid war at any cost and by any

The article is profusely illustrated; the map called "Shadows on the North Sea: A Hitler-Eye View of Britain" is striking.

CULTURAL OLYMPICS

Somewhat reminiscent of the artistic works offered in connection with the ancient Olympic Games are the modern Cultural Olympics, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania. Two of Philadelphia's leading citizens started the project: Mr. Samuel Fleisher, founder of the famous Graphic Sketch Club and twice winner of the Bok Award who conceived the idea, and Mr. George H. Johnson, a prominent business

man who has given it financial support. Dr. Frederick C. Gruber, of the School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, is the Director of Cultural Olympics.

The main purpose of Cultural Olympics is to interest as large a group of Americans as possible in leisure time cultural activities. Its secondary purpose is to discover real artistic ability and to help it develop. To accomplish the first purpose festivals have been arranged in various localities. Participation and the sharing of cultural experiences will be stressed. No awards of intrinsic value will be given, but a University Award in the form of a certificate will be given to all who are judged to have done outstanding work.

Toward the accomplishment of the second purpose it is hoped that institutions and public spirited individuals will give scholarships and other grants to those showing artistic gift.

The program of activities includes work in four art fields: music, graphic and plastic arts, dance, and speech and literature. This year three age groups are being included, a preparatory group to 12, juniors 12 to 15, and seniors 16 to 25. Next year it is hoped to add an adult group.

Interest in the movement is widespread, local units being organized or contemplated from Texas to Michigan and from New York to California. The following festivals have been arranged for this year: A Collegiate Dramatic Festival on Saturday, April 17, a Boy Choir and Organist Festival on Tuesday, May 11, a Music Festival on Thursday, May 20, a Dance Festival on Friday, May 21, and a Speech and Literature Festival on Saturday, May 22.

WORLD CONGRESS OF DOCUMENTATION

For forty years the International Institute of Documentation has been working in a very important field. Documents (manuscripts and printed materials), catalogues, indexes, and bibliographies; archives, libraries, museums, and other documentation centers; printers, publishers, the press, learned societies and writers—all need to be coördinated into a rational organization of documentation, which can give documents the maximum efficiency as an intellectual tool in the many branches of knowledge, research, business, and government.

Many organizations are coöperating for the forthcoming Congress, among them being the International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation, International
Labor Office, International Chamber of Commerce,
International Institute of Agriculture, International
Office of Chemistry, and the Peace Palace. The
August meeting, under the auspices of an International Committee of Documentation, has as one of
its objects the establishment of a Parliament of Documentation which will study the problem, examine
principles, programs, and methods, and seek to form
a minimum plan of work and service.

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Book Reviews and Book Notes

GENERAL

The Colonial Period of American History. By Charles M. Andrews. The Settlements. Vol. II. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. 407. \$4.00.

The first volume of this notable work covered the beginnings of colonization; the settlement and growth of Virginia and Bermuda; and, with respect to the New England region, the failure at Sagadahoc; the "lure" of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; and the successful establishment of Plymouth and the Bay Colony. The second volume, less in size by nearly a third, begins with two chapters on Rhode Island and two on Connecticut, respectively, and one relating to the New Haven Colony; thus completing the story of New England. In the latter half is a chapter which unravels the complex history of "Far Flung Barbados"; and two devoted to the founding and the evolution of Maryland. Carolina and the Delaware region await another volume; and, to our gratification, Professor Andrews promises a fourth which will deal, it is to be presumed, with British efforts to accomplish a greater degree of governmental control over the colonies.

At the outset of his work Professor Andrews made clear his purpose to treat of the colonies "from the English end." In this second volume, the narrative of the beginnings of Rhode Island and Connecticut stresses, perforce, rather the Massachusetts than the English "end"; but the account of the gaining of the Charters of 1662 and 1663 affords full opportunities for Professor Andrews to correlate the British and the colonial aspects. It is, however, in the chapter entitled "Proprieties: Introductory," which is the key or center to the volume, that Professor Andrews most clearly reveals his profound knowledge of English legal and social history, in a remarkable demonstration of the significance of manors and of the manorial class of the country gentry in England; of the movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by which these were affected; and of the development, upon the basis of the medieval palatinate of Durham, of the Proprietary idea as illustrated most completely by Maryland.

This is one of the main contributions of Professor Andrews' excellent book. One other deserves to be singled out here as of especial value to those who teach American history. Consistently and conclusively Professor Andrews demolishes one after another of the "preconceptions based on later events"—to use his own phrase. For that devotion to the superlative,

especially to the word "first," which is the mark of the patriotic local historian, Professor Andrews substitutes a dispassionate and merciless criticism which strikes alike at the exaggerations that have attached to the accounts of Connecticut's government and at the claims of religious partisans, of whatever creed, in regard to religious liberty in Maryland.

Concerning the work as a whole, no more just comment may, perhaps, be made than to say that it fully lives up to what was expected of its author.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Idaho: A Guide in Word and Picture. By Vardis Fisher, Federal Writers' Projects of the Works Progress Administration. (library edition) Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1937. Pp. 431. Illustrated. Maps. \$3.00.

A book from Caxton's! A pioneer book from the pioneer namesake! And it is not just a book. It is an adventure. It is something different in bookcraft, jacketed, bound, and illustrated with pictures that bid you study and visit Idaho. It is more than a guide. It is a handbook of essential information, a series of essays, attractive to the uninstructed, and indispensable to the traveler. One is never lost, as pictures and completely symboled maps cover every phase.

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Unusual in a guide book, one will want to read on to the last page, and then, using index, maps, and pictures, review what has been read.

ALBERT CHARLES NORTON

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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The Teacher and School Organization. By Leo M. Chamberlain. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. Pp. xxviii, 656. \$2.80.

The author of this book is the Director of the Bureau of School Service of the University of Kentucky. He is to be congratulated on presenting information about such a wide field of education in such a clear readable style. There are many facts given in tables, graphs, and in the text but these appear as supporting evidence to a particularly effective discussion of trends, points of view and status.

The scope of the book is suggested by the title. There are eight parts entitled: Scope and Develop-

ment of the Educational Program in the United States, Administrative Organization for the Control of Education, Problems of the Teaching Personnel, The Improvement of Instruction, The Program of Studies and Related Problems, Problems of the Pupil Personnel, The Operation of the School Plant and Problems of the Teaching Profession. Each of these parts is so significant that it might easily justify being the subject of a complete book and yet the reader has a feeling after completing each part that the author has chosen his material carefully and has wasted no space in confusing details. There are conflicting points of view presented on controversial questions which help the reader to understand the nature of the controversy.

This book was written to provide a preparation for more satisfactory participation of teachers in the administrative activities which are increasingly being assigned to them. It seems to fit that need admirably. It would serve very well as a textbook on a first course in school administration. It should prove most helpful, also, to the teachers and administrators who wish to have easy access to the results of research on the many problems considered in this book.

R. D. MATTHEWS

School of Education University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out. By Eyler N. Simpson, with a foreword by Lic. Ramón Beteta. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xxi, 849. \$5.00.

This disillusioning, yet hopeful analysis of the great social experiment that Mexico has been conducting since 1915 is a splendid contribution to the comparative study of a problem that is perplexing most of the western world today, namely, the twofold problem of agrarian and agricultural reform. In one or more of its aspects, such as the break-up of large estates (or latifundia), the redistribution of land, tenant farming, share-cropping, peonage, agricultural production, marketing, irrigation and credit, this protean problem has engaged the anxious attention of most of the countries of Europe and America. Soviet Russia has had its kulaks and the United States its "farm problem," and an "agrarian question" strikingly similar in several respects to that of Mexico is one of the main causes of the carnage now going on in Spain. In each country the problem assumes a different aspect; but—plus ça change. . . . So the significance of this book is by no means limited to Mexico.

What is the *ejido*, and why is it Mexico's way out? The latter question is the harder to answer; but even the former presents difficulties, because the meaning of ejido has changed greatly since it was introduced into Mexico by the Spanish conquerors four centuries ago, and even today, after more than twenty years of legislation and experimentation and interpretation, the Mexican government itself does not seem to know just what the ejido either is or ought to be. Mr. Simpson defines it as follows: "In Mexico at the present time the word [ejido] is used to refer to all types of lands which have been restored or granted to agricultural communities under the land reform initiated in 1915. By extension the word is also used to designate the communities possessing such lands." Obviously, the continuing social significance—the real meaning—of the ejido lies not in the first of the two sentences just quoted, but in the second. In other words, is the ejido a genuine "community" exercising social control over the land and its use, or is it merely an aggregation of independent small farmers? The answer is that at present, some ejidos are one thing and some the other, and the authorities in Mexico do not seem to know which of these they want the ejido to be in the future.

Mr. Simpson does not share their uncertainty or hesitancy. He is convinced that the *ejido* ought to be a genuine agrarian community and that "eventually all agricultural real property in Mexico... must be held collectively and be exploited coöperatively by [such] agrarian communities." He freely admits that at present the *ejido* is a "mockery of social aspirations, [a] halfhearted fulfillment of revolutionary promises," and that even today less than one-tenth of the farm

land and population of Mexico is comprised in the ejido system (which is really not a system). Some people find in this failure evidence that the ejido has at least one thing in common with Diego Rivera's revolutionary frescoes, namely, that both of them express a half-sentimental, half-propagandist and totally false Indianism, a cult of the primitive which has no basis in the realities of Mexican life. Not so, Mr. Simpson. He believes that the ejido is not only the best but probably the only solution of Mexico's problems, both those inherited from the remote past and those incident to the rise of modern industrialism.

His supporting argument is at least persuasive; and even if it were utterly fallacious his book would still possess great value, for only a relatively small part of it is argumentative and the rest is devoted to a searching, realistic, and highly informative analysis of the Mexican agrarian problem both in the contemporary social setting and in historical perspective. Even those who do not accept his conclusions will probably agree with Ramón Beteta, one of Mexico's leading New Dealers, who says in his foreword to this book: "The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out stands in a class by itself in the long list of books written by American authors about Mexico. Dr. Simpson comes nearer to demonstrating a right to aspire to the laurels of Alexander von Humboldt than any foreign writer in recent years."

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Essays in History and Political Theory, in Honor of Charles Howard McIlwain. By twelve of Professor McIlwain's former students at Harvard and Radcliffe. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936. Pp. x, 371. \$3.50.

Charles H. McIlwain, for many years the Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard, has stimulated and directed a prodigious amount of scholarly research into numerous and varied channels of political theory and constitutional history. His own writings have been of notable significance for a third of a century; and now, while he is still studying and teaching with unabated vigor, the widening horizons of his influence are being delineated in the work of a younger generation of teachers whom he has trained. A small, but richly valuable, segment of that work is made available for a wider audience in the volume of essays here being reviewed.

This book contains essays by twelve men and women who have written doctoral dissertations under the direction of Harvard's genial Eaton professor. Its publication on December 29, 1936, marked the completion of Dr. McIlwain's year of office as president of the American Historical Association. The separate contributions are unrelated except as they have in

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common the background of one man's teaching. The wide range of subjects is evidence of Professor Mc-Ilwain's breadth of interests and versatility of erudi-

Seven of the essays treat of some phase of English constitutional and political theory, from the thirteenth century to so recent a date as January 24, 1936 (p.136). One essay deals with the British Empire, and one with early American constitutional history. The remaining three chapters consider special aspects of political theory in Roman, early modern, and very recent times. Each chapter is strictly monographic in scope, condensed into small compass (too condensed in some instances). There was obviously a deliberate effort to restrict all contributions to a uniform length, so that each one uses almost exactly thirty pages. Each essay is left to stand on its own merit, as there are no editorial notes nor introductory remarks. Indeed, the editor of the work, if there was such, is not identified. There is a very brief preface by Carl Wittke explain-

ing the origin and purpose of the work.

Although the volume is largely by and for scholars, there is much in it that will be of direct helpfulness to social-studies teachers in secondary schools. Those who treat of English history in either its medieval or modern phases will be most fully rewarded by a reading of this book. They will profit particularly from these essays: Margaret Judson's thesis that the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty first arose in England in the writings of Henry Parker more than forty years before the Glorious Revolution; Paul Birdsall's elaboration of McIlwain's original interpretation of the limitations upon the dispensing power of English kings; and Eugene Chase's study of how the Church of England has waged a persistent struggle for autonomy within the last century. Teachers of both English and American history will find in Carl Wittke's essay an important new interpretation of the rôle of Parliamentary privilege in the development of self-government in British colonies and dominions from the early seventeenth century to the present. Of most direct concern to American history teachers, however, is the concluding chapter of the volume, "The Early History of Written Constitutions in America," by Benjamin F. Wright, in which it is emphasized that much of the making and content of the great document of 1787 is explainable only by reference to the previous experience of its framers with written constitutions during colonial and Revolutional times.

Although many of these essays seem to deal with matters remote from the contemporary American scene, two of them call for special mention on account of their timeliness. One of these is Max Adams Shepard's dissertation on the political and constitutional theory of Sir John Fortescue, in which the concluding paragraph reads, in part, as follows: "If judicial review of legislation is to survive in the United States, the courts, and especially the Supreme Court, must perhaps deny themselves, more than hitherto, the authority to interfere in the substance of disputes themselves as long as no settled consensus on the law governing these sectors of life exists. . . . The courts . . . can do little more than act as a body of elder statesmen, not as censors. . . . In periods of crucial economic disorder, these selfdenying elder statesmen, in the final analysis, can merely cushion the rude shock of transition to a new

social order" (pp. 318-319).

The other most timely of the essays is Paul A. Palmer's "The Concept of Public Opinion in Political Theory." Teachers of history, sociology, or government are giving units on public opinion with increasing frequency; but most of the sources which they are likely to use treat of the topic with too narrow a perspective. A reading of this essay by Dr. Palmer will throw light on the ancient and medieval origin of the concept of public opinion, and its exaltation in the eighteenth century, as well as the modifications of the concept in recent years. Current emphases, according to this study, are on attempts to measure public opinion quantitatively and to analyze "the nonrational forces involved in [its] formation or manipulation" (p. 252).

In addition to the seven contributors thus far mentioned, there are five others: Summerfield Baldwin, Dorothy Weske, Floyd Lear, Mary Maguire, and Samuel Rezneck, whose essays are all meritorious, although they tend to be more confined to remote

and specialized problems.

The utility of the volume for reference purposes is curtailed by its lack of an index and the failure to include either sub-division headings within the essays or an analytical table of contents. All of the essays are completely and accurately documented.

In general, the volume of essays represents a commendable venture in the dissemination of scholarly research. Every essay yields some new discovery or new viewpoint that deserves to influence our teaching of history and government on all grade levels. The authors are to be commended for their research labors and their enterprise in having them published. The book is a worthy tribute to a great teacher.

WILBUR F. MURRA

Graduate School of Education Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts

Foundations of Curriculum Building. By John K. Norton and Margaret A. Norton. New York: Ginn and Company, 1936. Pp. x, 598. \$3.00.

Here is a rare sort of book, yet the kind for which there is an urgent need in every area of the field of education. It is a concise, readable, and challenging f-

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eld of nging survey of all important researches which pertain to the content of the elementary-school curriculum. The authors, both of whom are experts in the interpretation and evaluation of research, have evolved a scholarly and comprehensive synthesis of thousands of publications. Each piece of material used in this well-documented book has been found acceptable with reference to excellent criteria of historical, philosophical, and scientific research. As used in the title, "foundations" refers to scientific educational investigations, reports of national committees on curriculum revision, sociological and economic surveys and analyses, courses of study, and philosophical writings of frontier thinkers.

Theories underlying curriculum building are considered in the first fifth of the book. The main questions discussed are: how extensive curriculum revision should be, if at all, in schools in general and in any specific school; the functions of the school in a changing democratic society; how the school should fulfill these functions; and the best approaches to curriculum building. The authors present and evaluate the contrasting viewpoints of leading thinkers on these problems. Nearly four-fifths of the book is devoted to the various subjects of the curriculum of the elementary school. While each subject is considered separately, mainly for convenience, the help given to the curriculum builder is equally valuable for

both the activity type of curriculum and the departmental type. Some of the subject fields suffer somewhat from a lack of available scientific source material. All fields are covered, however, from the standpoints of selecting objectives, selecting activities, technics for presenting subject matter, grade placement, grade standards, individualized content for pupils of different levels of ability, minimum essentials, articulation with other phases of school experience and life, and evaluation of results.

The use of Foundations of Curriculum Building should make curriculum revision more scientific. It is a book which should appeal widely, for the curriculum is dynamic; and educational workers with a progressive viewpoint are constantly making curriculum adjustments to make subject matter function in terms of life experiences. Secondary-school workers as well as those in the elementary field will find the first part of the book stimulating and helpful in forming a more valid philosophy of the curriculum. Whether the curriculum is to be revised de novo or whether only minor adjustments are desirable, the book should be found not only inspirational, but eminently practical.

H. H. LAMPÉ

Glen-Nor High School Glenolden, Pennsylvania

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Why Was Lincoln Murdered? By Otto Eisenschiml. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. Pp. x, 503. 36 Plates. \$3.50.

In 1896 a French chemist found dark smudges on a photographic plate, which before development, had been wrapped in light-proof paper. His curiosity was aroused, and the result was the discovery of radium. "Smudges equally baffling" are found in the story of April 14, 1865: General Grant's sudden decision not to be Lincoln's guest at Ford's Theater; the unpunished negligence of the President's bodyguard; the failure of telegraph service out of Washington for two hours after the murder. These led a Chicago chemist to make startling discoveries concerning Lincoln's assassination and the War and Reconstruction period.

Ten years of research, costing some \$20,000, provided Mr. Eisenschiml with solid evidence: That Lincoln requested protection on the day of his assassination, and was refused; that the name of the slayer, -identified by seventeen witnesses—was withheld until too late for the morning papers; that all roads out of Washington were immediately blocked, except the one taken by the slayer; that Washington police were refused necessary cooperation in organizing pursuit along that route; that the photograph furnished pursuers was one of Booth's brother, Edwin; that when fugitives were located on Garrett's farm, Secretary of War Stanton's trusted lieutenants took charge, and obtained a corpse stated to be that of Booth; that persons thought to be in Booth's confidence were held incommunicado—hooded—then rushed to execution or military imprisonment; that other known accomplices were freed; that portions of the original testimony at the conspiracy trial were omitted from or rewritten in the official record.

Coming to believe with Attorney General Bates that "this assassination is not the act of one man, but only one scene of a great drama" (Diary, April 15, 1865), the author establishes a motive for the slaying. Moreover he amasses evidence that those to whom the motive might be ascribed had for three years been involved in an enterprise, beside which the murder of an individual statesman shrinks to insignificance. He charges deliberate prolongation of the War for political ends, sabotage of the Union arms by the War Department itself, and systematic poisoning of public opinion (and history) through control over communications and the press, in order that policies of extremism and subjugation might prevail.

The publishers correctly describe this work as "appalling in its implications." Apart from Mr. Eisenschiml's conclusions, his disclosures of the abuse of power and the ways of government in war time make strong reading. Like all studies of villainy in high places, the book constitutes a problem for the thoughtful educator. Where one student will read it

to gain in ethical judgment and political insight, another will simply find in it new tricks to add to his growing repertoire. But perhaps education as a whole is subject to this dilemma, and in any event, "Why Was Lincoln Murdered?" should gather little dust on the shelves of any high school library.

JOHN LEWIS KIPLINGER
West Liberty, West Virginia

General Benjamin Franklin: the Military Career of a Philosopher. By J. Bennett Nolan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936. Pp. 101. \$1.50.

This is a pleasingly written and interesting account of a hitherto little-known episode in the life of the versatile Franklin. After Braddock's defeat, the Pennsylvania frontier needed protection from the French and Indians. Governor Morris delegated Benjamin Franklin, with a small band of men, to go to Bethlehem, Easton, and Reading to organize the militia and erect forts. The military career of the philosopher started in December 1755 and lasted for fifty days. The book also throws light on the difficulties of Franklin with the Penn government and gives a picture of the leaders and manner of living of the people of the frontier. The author has made a careful study of the sources. Particularly useful were the Moravian records which until recently have been scattered and neglected. Footnotes and bibliography are provided for the reader who is interested in the documents. Anyone who is interested in Franklin or in this period of the country's history will find the book helpful. Students of the history classes of the region which is the scene of the expedition should have access to it. The writings of local historians are a great aid in stimulating the interest of the young history student.

J. IRA KREIDER

Abington High School Abington, Pennsylvania

TEXTBOOKS AND OTHER TEACHING AIDS

The High Trail, Actions Speak, Real Persons. (Living Through Biography Series.) Selected and edited by Edwin Diller Starbuck and Staff. New York: World Book Company, 1936. Pp. 340 each.

These are three small volumes in a series of biographical readings for the junior high school. In the preface of each the editor says, "This book is different." Indeed, the books are different—they are written, not only for reading in the social studies, but also for the general studies of science. The books are different in that they bring out characters that the average junior high school teacher would sometimes fail to mention in class. How often do teachers mention Quentin Roosevelt, Charles A. Eastman, John G.

Bowman, John Muir, or Barrett Willoughby? Seldom, indeed, is it that the attention of the junior high school pupil is called to these characters. It seems that these volumes are written with the idea to arouse youthful enthusiasm for adventure—adventure such as was found by the Wright brothers, General Custer, and Quentin Roosevelt.

In the "Prelude" it is stated that there are both romance and adventure within the pages that follow. It seems to the reviewer that the latter prevails. The books appeal to the interest and to the emotions of the young reader; they appeal to the imagination. Doubt may be expressed as to whether or not the editors have met their goal in saying that their only requirement was "that whatever the characters do and say shall be true to life." The reviewer feels that at times the staff in editing this work have chosen portions where the authors have let their imagination run ahead of them. The statement is also made "that writers often lose themselves in facts and minor incidents" . . . "as if it made any difference who the grandfather was and whether he was the first or third child in a family of eight or eleven!" It seems that this fails to advance one of the principles of junior high school teaching, i.e., instilling in the pupils the desire for accuracy in facts. Why shouldn't it be better for the youthful reader that the statements possess complete veracity?

Surely, this is an overdraft upon the reasonable imagination to be used for youthful reading.

The reviewer finds considerable fault with errors in Actions Speak, which appear in extracts from sources, without calling particular attention to these inaccuracies. On the affirmative side, the reviewer notices that this volume deals largely with the biography of individualists and thinkers. Without a doubt the editors have accomplished their purpose of passing along the "contagion of personality."

Toward the end of each volume are chapters entitled "Incidents and Letters." These prove exceedingly interesting side-lights upon characters frequently admired by youthful readers. The "Glossary" is one of the finest parts of the books. The excellent choice of words, their almost perfect definitions and their pronunciation aids will serve in clarifying any question in the pupils' minds concerning the use of words.

The sections entitled "More Biography" are well selected. It is reasonably inclusive and lists biographies upon characters who have been "real," "active," etc. These books will be found to be fascinating and instructive for use in the junior high school.

HERMAN H. LAWRENCE

Union City High School Union City, Indiana

THE CITIZEN AND HIS GOVERNMENT

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Ancient History. By Clarence Perkins. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936. Pp. xiv, 662. Illustrated. Maps. \$3.50.

Instructors in ancient history have long desired an attractive text, and it is just that which Professor Perkins provides. Clearly organized with main topics and marginal headings to guide students, the book presents a well-balanced story from the Java Man to Justinian. With approximately 145, 260, and 245 pages devoted respectively to the Near East, the Greeks, and the Romans, traditional proportions are maintained. More than one hundred well-chosen illustrations and maps add significantly to the teach-

able quality of the text.

For college students, however, certain features might have proved helpful. For example, the full and well-selected reading references could have been enhanced by making them briefly critical. Moreover, since scholars still disagree on many interpretations, the author could have pointed out more frequently where such differences of opinion occur. Such omissions are all the more apparent when one meets such excellent discussions of this nature as the one on the Homeric question (p. 166). Quotations from sources, for instance, the classic passage describing the effect of the news of the Sicilian disaster on the Athenian population during the Peloponnesian War, would have provided a touch of reality.

But regardless of such suggested additions, instructors will find Professor Perkins' volume an eminently practical text. Teachers in high schools can hardly afford to be without such a book, because of the

numerous questions it will answer.

WARREN RANNEY

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Occupational Life: A Work Guide for Students. By V. A. Teeter. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1937. Pp. vi, 137. 60 cents.

A work book designed for courses in vocational guidance.

A Guide to the Study of Modern History. By Margaret A. Koch. Mimeographed. Published by the author, Fieldston School, New York, 1936. Pp. viii, 60. Paper covers.

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Japan in World Economics. By Emil Lederer. Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York. 25 cents.

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A Bid for Liberty. Federal Writers' Project, WPA, Chestnut Street Pier, Phildalephia, Pa. 25 cents.

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- Gives the principal addresses and the texts of treaties, acts, and resolutions of the conference held last December at Buenos Aires.

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Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Edited by I. L. Kandel and Guy Montrose Whipple. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. xii, 406.

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